Proceedings
of the
New Jersey Historical Society

Vol. 69, No. 2 April, 1951 Whole No. 265

## "MONTPELIER," THE HOME OF COMMODORE CHARLES STEWART

By Earle W. Huckel, *St. Huberts School, Sudbury, Mass.*

Commodore Charles Stewart was born in Philadelphia in 1778 of Irish parents, his father being in the merchant service. Charles went to sea at the age of thirteen as a cabin boy. In March, 1798, he was commissioned a lieutenant in the United States Navy, making his first cruise under Commodore Barney.[1] During the war with Tripoli in 1804 he performed gallant service, forming then a lasting friendship with Captain Decatur.[2] Promoted captain two years later, he was given command of the *Constitution* in 1812, from which he gained the affectionate title of "Old Ironsides." As the historian Lossing has well remarked, "She (the *Constitution*) was always fortunate in having skillful commanders, and brave and intelligent men."

In 1816, before the treaty concluding the War of 1812 was known, Stewart defeated and captured the British ships *Cyane* and *Levant* off the Cape Verde Islands. For this victory, his native state of Pennsylvania voted him a gold-hilted sword, and in 1817 Congress ordered a commemorative medal designed by Sully, the portrait here reproduced being the first sketch for the profile in sepia now at the United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, from which the medal was made. In the same year

[1]Joshua Barney, (1759-1818)
[2]Stephen Decatur, (1779-1820), commanded the "Enterprise" in Tripolitan waters in 1803 and was made captain in 1804.

he was designated to convey across the Atlantic the newly appointed Minister to England, Richard Rush. Thereafter he filled various responsible posts at sea and on shore. In 1865 he was made rear admiral, the only surviving officer, it is said, to hold a commission dating from the previous century

In this connection, Commodore Stewart and General Winfield Scott ("Old Fuss and Feathers") (1786-1866), were the senior ranking officers of the United States armed forces at the beginning of the Civil War. It is a curious coincidence that the aged Scott, eight years Stewart's junior, began his long military career exactly ten years later than Stewart, Scott receiving his first commission in 1808. In 1861 he was appointed lieutenant general of the army and died in 1866, three years before Stewart.

Among the City of Philadelphia's historical collections formerly exhibited in the annex of Independence Hall, was a hand-colored photograph of Charles Stewart in full dress uniform, taken in 1864. He was then 87 years old; and it is interesting to compare this likeness with that drawn by Sully for the medal half a century earlier. The features have changed but little and the veteran still shows evidence of the physical vigor and vitality which always characterized him. His was a fine figure of a man, as is admirably shown in the full-length portrait by Thomas Sully painted in 1819 and now in the National Museum of Art, Washington, D.C.

At the close of the War of 1812, Stewart purchased property near Bordentown, New Jersey, which he named "Montpelier." This was in 1816, about which time Joseph Bonaparte took up his residence close by. On the lawn in front of the house there used to stand a handsome Italian marble bath tub, used for flowers, which is said to have been a gift from Napoleon's brother.

The house stands on a bluff with a commanding view of the Delaware River. It was a large though not elaborate dwelling to which the marble mantels and fine wainscoting gave some appearance of elegance within. Here was offered a kindly hos-

pitality to many distinguished people of the day, as well as to those attracted by the genial personality and the fame of "Old Ironsides." Webster, Clay and John Quincy Adams were counted among his friends, while Francis Hopkinson and Joseph Bonaparte were frequent visitors. It has been said that apart from his professional reputation, Stewart had many of the qualities of a statesman; and such was the prestige of his name that at one time he was seriously considered for the presidency.

It is interesting to note that during a visit to this country in 1834, an Irish gentleman named Parnell met Commodore Stewart's accomplished daughter, married her soon after and returned with her to the Parnell estate in County Wicklow, Ireland, where was born Charles Stewart Parnell, named after his maternal grandfather. Mrs. Parnell made "Montpelier" her home during the tumultuous days of her son's trials and struggles. Hallucinations seem to have haunted her mind, and her days at the mansion were like so many pages from a novel. She had the side and rear stairways removed, leaving the broad main staircase intact and this she would guard at night with a revolver, awaiting enemies who never came. Tradition says that the round eyes in the heavy shutters were for a purpose; that secret meetings were here held by those who conspired for Ireland. Numerous hidden cabinets, later discovered, seem also to have had some connection with these mysterious cabals.

During the fifty years that he lived there, however, Commodore Stewart found the tranquil existence at "Montpelier" a welcome repose after months spent at sea. Each room was a veritable museum with its swords, medals and pictures collected in the course of a long and eventful life. One of these relics Stewart especially prized was the dirk with a rhinoceros tooth handle that one of the Barbary pirates had aimed at Decatur's heart during a fierce struggle on the deck of the *Philadelphia* at Tripoli in 1804.

In later years, the commodore would sit on his favorite seat overlooking the river and recount his stirring adventures to

spellbound listeners. Little children also shared his attention, and they came to love "Old Ironsides." Some years before he died, the veteran retired to a smaller building adjacent to the mansion; and there in 1869, at the age of 91 years, in the small second floor room at the right, he passed away. 1778-1869, what a sea of years for a sailor to buffet and live through!

In 1901 the estate was purchased as an industrial school, now the State of New Jersey Manual Training School. It includes at present 400 acres of farm, woodland and campus, with over thirty buildings. The old residence has been enlarged and completely renovated; the small house at the side has also been very much changed.

## THE MAN WHO DISCOVERED HAMILTON

By Broadus Mitchell, *Rutgers University*

Editor's Note: The author is a professor of Economics at Rutgers University. He formerly taught at Johns Hopkins and at New York University. He is a graduate of the University of South Carolina and of Johns Hopkins. His published work includes *"The Rise of Cotton Mills in the South," "William Gregg, Factory Master of the Old South," "General Economics," "American Economic History,"* (with L. P. Mitchell,) *"Depression Decade," "American Adventure," "Economics; Experience and Analysis,"* (with Rutgers colleagues.) He has contributed to the Encyclopedia Britannica, the Dictionary of American Biography, and the Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, as well as numerous magazine articles on industrial history.

Little is known of the boyhood and youth of Alexander Hamilton. He was almost a man, aged 19 or 20,[1] when his first participation in the Revolutionary cause, in 1774 and 1775, commenced a connected record of his talents and achievements.

This is because he was born and grew up in the West Indies, distant from the scenes of his crowded career. That he was born out of wedlock and was early left an orphan robbed us of the details of his childhood home life. We first become aware

[1]Harold Larsen, "The Birth and Parentage of Alexander Hamilton," in *The American Genealogist,* January 1945 has shown that he was at least two years older than had previously been supposed.

of him in America with his opinions and modes of thought and action remarkably matured. He appears as a nova, out of nowhere.

Therefore we are left with questions which might be answered by knowledge of his earlier years. What whetted his appetite for learning? What formed his views and loyalties, and developed his aptitudes? Anything is of interest which throws light on the youthful impressions of a man who played so creative a part in the building of the nation.

No apology is needed for telling the story of Hugh Knox, the friend who "found" Hamilton, promoted the boy's transfer to the mainland, and continued to feed his ambition. In the accounts of Hamilton's life Knox looms only briefly, as a significant but shadowy figure. Yet Knox, more than others, put Hamilton into history.

Alexander Hamilton was remarkably self-reliant. He made his own living while yet only a boy. He came from his West Indian home to the mainland of America knowing not a soul except a youth of his own age who had preceded him here. He made up in one year for his lack of preliminary schooling, passed swiftly through King's College ,and went on from army to Congress, to Constitutional Convention, Treasury, and national distinction. He was also self-sufficient, though he was companionable, attracted devoted personal friends, and acquired a political following that made him the leader of the Federalist Party.

Yet Hamilton was not without patrons whose eager assistance materially aided his success. The chief of these was Washington, if the earned confidence of that impartial man may be called patronage. Others were Hercules Mulligan, a New York tailor; Elias Boudinot and William Livingston, the New Jersey worthies; and not least Philip Schuyler, his father-in-law, who brought to Hamilton's support ready-made wealth and influence. While the character of his helpers was a recommendation of him, their early perception of his promise was equally a compliment to their judgment.

However, Hamilton's first patron, to whom we owe his entrance on our national scene, was Hugh Knox, a Presbyterian clergyman in the Danish Virgin Islands. Knox deserves appreciation because in his firm faith in the boy he had least evidence to go on. From his distant post Knox projected for his protege the ambitious career which was perfectly borne out in the event. While others who assisted Hamilton benefitted in different ways from the close association, Hug Knox knew him the shortest time, never saw him again after the lad took ship for Boston, and had his sole and sufficient reward in his young friend's brilliant achievement. Knox did more. He prepared the way for the aspiring young visitor to the continent. Knox had himself lived in New Jersey and Delaware and sent the boy with letters to his circle of valuable friends here. Keenly concerned for the colonies' independence and prosperity, he followed young Hamilton with solicitous encouragement. Knox was returing a kindness from America, for he had arrived a stranger from Ireland and had received the help of another clergyman, Dr. John Rodgers.

Hugh Knox was born in 1727, supposedly in Ireland, and came to America in 1751.[2] If Irish by birth he was surely Scotch by blood. His name alone would show this, but we have it in his own words, in one of his rare autobiographical allusions, that "I was bred in a very pure district of the Church of Scotland, of which my father was a faithful minister . . ."[3]

[2]The date of birth is established by the notice of Knox's death. (Royal Danish-American Gazette, October 13, 1790—see below—which says that he was then 63. Webster, Richard, *A History of the Presbyterian Church in America . . . with biographical sketches of its early ministers* (Philadelphia, 1857) 658, with *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography*, III, 567 erroneously say that Knox was born about 1733. Samuel Miller, *Memoirs of Rev. John Rodgers, D.D.* (1813) 96, wrote earlier than the others and probably from memory, but he doubtless had his information from Dr. Rodgers that Knox was born in Ireland; however, Miller was mistaken in saying Knox reached America only a year or two before 1755, for at that time he was already about graduating from the College of New Jersey.

[3]ALS, Hugh Knox, Saba, Oct. 16, 1766 to Rev. Mr. Jacob Green, in Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. Many early Presbyterian ministers in America were born in Ireland; Webster, supra, in biographical sketches of a total of 201 assigns the birth of 54 to Ireland (Biographical Index, 679-683); Guy S. Klett, *Presbyterians in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1937.)

Knox arrived in this country at eighteen with a good classical education and "remarkably prepossessing . . . personal appearance and manners."[4] It is likely that his first act was to apply to his countryman, Francis Alison, for a position as assistant in the latter's academy at New London, Chester County, Pennsylvania. Alison had been ordained by New Castle (then Pennsylvania) Presbytery some time prior to May, 1737, became pastor at New London, and commenced his school in 1743.[5] This was the second of two schools fostered by the Scotch-Irish of the middle colonies to meet their need for ministers. Immigrants arrived so rapidly in the first half of the eighteenth century that the proportion of clergymen trained in Ireland and Scotland declined, and the Presbyterians and Lutherans of this region had no such established seminaries as Harvard and Yale, which served the Congregationalists in New England, or William and Mary and the efforts of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which supplied the Anglicans of Virginia and Maryland. The first academy with this design in Pennsylvania was that of William Tennent, commenced in 1726 at the forks of Neshaminy River about twenty miles north of Philadelphia; two years later, on land given him by his relative James Logan, he erected the "Log College" twenty feet square, which despite its primitive character sent out four signers of the Declaration of Independence and numerous ministers. After mutations via Elizabethtown and Newark, New Jersey, the Log College[6] became Princeton University. It was of the "New Lights" or "New Side" (Whitefield )persuasion, while Alison's academy remained on the "Old Side."

[4]Miller, op cit., 96-98.

[5]Webster, ibid., 440.

[6]On Log College see Webster, ibid., 364-367; Ryden, George H., "The Relations of the Newark Academy of Delaware to the Presbyterian Church and to Higher Education in the American Colonies," in *Delaware Notes,* ninth ser. (Univ. of Delaware, Newark, Delaware, 1935) 13 ff.; program of "Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of the Log College by William Tennent, October 2-5, 1927." (copy in Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia); the Society has in its *museum* a piece of wood from the Log College; cf. Klett, op. cit.

The next year, 1744, this New London Academy was taken over by the Synod of Philadelphia; Francis Alison was continued as principal at £20 Pennsylvania currency and might choose an usher at £15; in 1748 the salaries were raised to £40 and £20, the latter doubless the pay what would have gone to Knox had he been engaged in 1751.[7]

While Alison had no place for Knox, he tried to open other opportunities for the young man, certainly in teaching elsewhere and possibly in qualifying himself then to enter the Presbyterian ministry. The sequence of the next events is not clear; they came close together and were as intimately connected. The Synod of Philadelphia at its meeting May 22, 1751

[7]The synod was disappointed in hopes of turning the academy into a college; the celebrated Dr. Francis Hutcheson, a teacher of Adam Smith at Glasgow, is said to have been solicited to make one of its faculty, but declined. In 1752 Alison left the acedemy at New London for that founded in Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin, and the Synod, which had prevented him from making the move earlier, accepted him in the Philadelphia Presbytery. The Academy of Philadelphia later became the College of Philadelphia and afterwards the University of Pennsylvania (Webster, ibid., 440-2; Ryden, ibid., 15 ff.; Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, *Records of the Presbyterian Church . . . embracing the minutes of the Presbytery of Philadelphia . . . from 1706-1788,* 203-5). The New London Academy in 1752 was moved by its new principal, Rev. Alexander McDowell, to his manse in Cecil County, Maryland, and in 1767 he transferred it to the village of New Ark, Delaware; it was chartered by John Penn this year and again in 1769; Francis Alison, by now an honorary D.D. of the University of Glasgow, was Chairman of the Board of Trustees and Charles Thomson, who had been Alison's pupil and colleague, was Secretary. Dr. Hugh Williamson, who had studied under Francis Alison at New London, was sent with another to England and Scotland to collect funds for the New Ark Academy; he seems to have devoted himself chiefly to acquiring a pretty wife, and left to his companion, Dr. Ewing, the solicitation of a neat fund, including gifts from Dr. Samuel Johnson and the King, with which a stone building was erected. However, in 1772 Dr. Williamson was dispatched to the West Indies on a similar errand, and perhaps there had a meeting with Hugh Knox; it is even possible that Dr. Williamson's visit may have prompted Knox, this same year, to propose that his protege, young Alexander Hamilton, go to the mainland for an education. The New Ark Academy was merged with Delaware College when the latter (now the University of Delaware) was chartered in 1834, but the corporation of the Academy remains in existence (1951) and uses the attractive brick building of the former school for several civic purposes (Ryder, ibid., Weber, ibid., 468. The Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, has in its collections a stone from the foundation of the original New London Academy).

at 3 p.m. "being informed that Mr. Hugh Knox and Mr. John Alison are waiting on them to be examined according to the rules of this Synod, . . . agreed that they attend the Presbytery of New Castle, at Elk River, the first Tuesday of August, and be examined by them, and that Messrs. Boyd and Tate correspond with them at that time."[8] Francis Alison was attending when the Synod took this action.[9]

Not having the minutes of the New Castle Presbytery, we may only presume that Knox presented himself along with John Alison, for the latter was licensed and sent as a missionary to the southern provinces.[10]

Probably if Hugh Knox submitted to inspection he was rejected, for we are told that he "gave up all thought of the ministry, and led a life of worldly gayety, teaching for a support."[11]

His dissipations must have been occasional and minor on the minute pay of a junior schoolmaster. We know that this was the case. Francis Alison, Knox's friend of the New London

[8]Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, ibid., 199.

[9]It would seem that Knox, about 24 years old at the time, was already beyond the instruction of Alison, though Alison "had the reputation of being the best Latin scholar in America." (Webster, ibid., 442); we have the record, "The affair of the school considered, and ordered, That four scholars be entirely exempted from paying, and the residue of the twenty pound is to be divided among such as Mr. Alison shall think fit . . . ." (Presbyterian Church, Records, ibid.). Had he been considered eligible, one of these scholarships would have furnished a lodgment for Knox.

[10]Webster, ibid., 658. The examination of license and trial must have been rigorous. The year before, 1750, the Philadelphia Synod appointed nine of its members to meet at 6 a.m. to inquire into the qualifications of two candidates, "and . . . as many of the other brethren as think fit may attend." The committee reported back to the Synod at 9 o'clock (Presbyterian Church, *Records*, 1997). For one of numerous instances of the censoriousness of Synod, and of the New Castle Presbytery at this time, see ibid., 196: the question "Whether a single man and woman having promised marriage to each other, may lawfully agree again to release each other from the promise" was resolved in this case in the affirmative, but the Synod in its formal rebuke expressed its "detestation of such rash . . . and unwarrantable methods of engaging." In 1773 (ibid., 440-41) the Synod restored to exercise of the ministry a member censored and suspended the year before, "and do earnestly recommend to him the greatest humility, circumspection, and meekness, through the remaining part of his life."

[11]Webster, ibid., 658.

Academy, gave him a letter to Rev. John Rodgers, minister of churches at St. George's and Middletown, New Castle County on Delaware. Rodgers helped Knox form a school at the Head of Bohemia nearby, where the young stranger was esteemed for his competence, attention to duty, filial admiration for Rodgers, and regular attendance at the Forest Church at Middletown.[12]

For more than a year Knox's lack of "real piety" did not discover itself. He spent his Saturday afternoons with companions at the tavern at Middletown. One day in a mood of mild intemperance his friends, calling him "parson" for his serious, church-going deportment, demanded of Knox a sermon. Two refusals did not put them off, so Knox, with excellent elocution and mimicry, reproduced the sermon of Mr. Rodgers of the Sunday before with a fidelity to which David Witherspoon, the keeper of the house and himself a church elder, testified. "Carried beyond himself" he "spoke so much like a man preaching the Gospel in good earnest, that his profane hearers were deeply affected . . . ." In fact, Knox smote himself, for he sat down in contrition which at once became conversion, and the next morning the sinner, without a word to anyone, quit that part of the country.

[12]We have an uninviting, and probably prejudiced, picture of the life of dissenting preachers and teachers in this district a quarter-century before (1727) from the pen of Rev. George Ross, rector of Immanuel Episcopal Church at New Castle. "Fresh supplies" of immigrants "from the North of Ireland" gave the preachers of four Presbyterian churches "sufficiency to live, rather than decency in living. . . . Some schoolmasters are hired by the year, by a knot of Families, who, in their turns, entertain him monthly, & the poor man lives in their Houses like one that begged an alms, more than like a person in credit & authority. . . . The truth is, the office & character of such a person is generally very mean & contemptible here. . . ." (Holcomb, Thomas, *Sketch of Early Ecclesiastical Affairs in New Castle, Delaware, and History of Immuanel Church*—Wilmington: Delaware Printing Co., 1890-47-8.

[13]Much later Knox wrote that when the scene is shifted to another world "An impenitent sinner shall never, to eternity, hear another sermon to ridicule . . ." (*The Transitory and Evancescent Nature of all Sublunary Things. Being the Substance of Two Discussions delivered in the Presbyterian Church of St. Croix, on the sixth and thirteenth days of January, 1782, from Cor. vii. 31.* By Hugh Knox, D.D., Pastor of that Church, and Published at the particular request of one of the Hearers. Glasgow: Printed by Andrew Foulis, Printer to the University, MDCCLXXXII, 71 pp., p. 53; copy in Princeton University Library.)

Some months later Mr. Rodgers, attending the commencement of the College of New Jersey, then at Newark, was surprised to find his late parishioner at the home of President Aaron Burr. Knox, in profound embarrassment, seized the first private moment to implore Mr. Rodgers' forgiveness for the mock sermon and begged that he be recommended to President Burr, who had made that condition of acceptance into the College. Fortunately for Rodgers' conscience and Knox's comfort, President Burr in the hurry of commencement did not inquire closely.[14]

Knox graduated from the College of New Jersey, A.B. 1754, after what could not have been more than a two years' stay, but appears to have remained another year for private study of divinity with President Burr.[15]

Knox received the B.A. degree with fifteen others at the commencement late in September, 1754; Knox was evidently not at the head of his class, as the salutatory oration was by William Shippen. The occasion was made notable by the presence of Whitefield, whose virtues President Burr, in "a warm and pathetic address to the young Candidates," exhorted them to emulate. Whitefield received the M.A. degree, and afterward preached in the street before the court house. Governor Belcher was present at the commencement exercises. (N.Y. Mercury, September 30, 1754, in N.J. Archives, 1st ser. XIX, 418-9.)

[14]Miller, ibid., 98-103. Another account of Knox's retribution is given in J. A. Alexander and James Carnahan, "Notices of distinguished Graduates of the College of New Jersey . . .", (MS in library of Princeton University) p. 69; substantially the same story is told, but with evident inaccuracies.

[15]Sprague, Wm. B., Annals of the American Pulpit, III, 180; Hugh Knox folder in secretary's office, Princeton University, he also received the A.M. degree (date not given); this was ordinarily awarded after three years to graduates who followed a career of letters, but the title page of Knox's first printed sermon, 1755, the year he completed his theological studies with President Burr, describes the author as A.M. Knox must have received aid from a fund like that of 1755 "for the education of such youth for the ministry of the gospel, in the College of New Jersey, as are unable to defray the expenses of their education, who appear, upon proper examination, to be of promising genius, Calvinistic principles, and in the judgment of charity, experimentally acquainted with a work of saving grace, and to have a distinguished zeal for the glory of God, and salvation of men." (Presbyterian Church, *Records,* 264). If so, his tavern-haunting was obviously behind him.

The Dutch Reformed Church in the island of Saba, in the Netherlands West Indies, having applied to the New York Presbytery to send them a minister, Hugh Knox was ordained in 1755 and despatched to the post.[16] His ordination sermon was so much admired by the Synod that its publication was requested; it is the earliest record of his thoughts.[17]

The sermon is a mature piece of work for a man of twenty-two. The most important part of a ministers' labor "consists in Teaching from House to House . . . it is necessary that he be particularly acquainted with every Person under his Care; that he study their Tempers and Dispositions, and know their principal Weaknesses and Dangers. He should . . . take Care that Children, who are the Hope of the next Generation, be brought up in the Nurture and Admonition of the Lord . . ."[18] These remarks foretell his attention to young Alexander Hamilton

[16]Webster, ibid., 659. I find no record of Knox's ordination in the minutes of the New York Synod; he is not mentioned in the year 1754, but he is set down among the absent ministers in 1755, the next year and regularly thereafter, with no excuse thought necessary; obviously he was ordained between the synods of 1754 and 1755, without the usual report of such action; beginning with 1769 he was called "Dr." Knox, which would refer to the D.D. degree. (Presbyterian Church, *Records*, 257 ff.) The exchange of ministers between Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Churches was familiar, both having the same creed; as a hint of this, Mr. Fosket of Bristol, England, in giving 5 guineas to the College of New Jersey this year "expressly ordered, that his donation be applied to the education of poor pious youth, of Calvinistic principles, of every denomination of Protestants." (ibid., 264) John Maltby, ordained by the Presbytery of New York in 1754, became pastor of a church in Bermuda (S. D. Alexander, *The Presbytery of New York*, 1738 to 1788; N.Y., Anson D. F. Randolph and Co., 1888) 17.

[17]*The Dignity and Importance of the Gospel Ministry*, displayed in a sermon, preached by the Revd. Hugh Knox, A.M., on the day of his ordination, before the Presbytery of New York. New York: Printed and sold by Hugh Gaine, at the Printer's office, between the Fly and Meal-Markets, 1755. 24 pp. A notice from a dealer's catalog (Princeton Secretary's office) of a copy of this pamphlet calls it "extremely rare."

A prefatory address, signed by the clerk of the Presbytery, to the Dutch Protestant Reformed Church on the Island of Saba, makes the printed sermon Knox's recommendation to his new charge in "so distant a part of the Lord's Vineyard." "The ingenious Author of the following Discourse" shows "what Sense he has of the great WORK he is called to engage in among you;" as he is forsaking his friends, and risking the dangers of the sea he ought to be well received and entertained (ibid., i-ii). As a matter of fact, Knox later said, though without complaint, that he was sadly underpaid by the Saba church.

[18]Ibid. 17.

and suggest how the boy, in his first coming to the mainland, was noticeably religious. Though generally buoyant, the sermon speaks of the present as "these Dregs of Time."[19]

Hugh Knox must have needed all of his youth, earnestness, and fortitude to accept the assignment to minister to the tiny island of Saba. It is only five square miles, lying a league or two south of the western end of St. Thomas and farther from St. Croix to the southeast. With a brief intermission he was to spend the remainder of his life, thirty-five years, there and on St. Croix. The population of Saba at Knox's arrival was probably composed mainly of Negro slaves.[20]

We may suppose that his duties were not different from those of the first Danish Lutheran missionaries who arrived on St. Croix two years after Knox went to Saba, of whom we have fuller knowledge. They were to tread the paths from plantation to plantation, instructing the slaves; Knox was in the different category of regular minister, and had his church at The Bottom, but as the one cleric[21] on so small an island his responsibilities must have been comprehensive.[22]

[19]Ibid. 18.

[20]Knox much later, 1772, describing the devastation on Saba of the hurricane of that year, said that "Out of about 180 dwelling-houses on Saba, it is said, only about 30 stand . . ." He spoke of "Their Church" (evidently the only one) as a "strong stone building" which was levelled. If the average dwelling housed five persons the (whites?) population of Saba would have been under a thousand (*A Discourse on Occasion of the Hurricane*—see below footnote).

For a photograph of Saba see Gt. Britain, Hydrographic Department, Admiralty, *The West Indies Pilot,* facing 290. The island is little more than a sharp mountain peak rising 2820 feet from the sea, the summit generally enveloped in cloud. Around this shoulder other rugged mountains with deep, precipitous ravines, through which wind only footpaths from house to house. The principal village was and is The Bottom, in a small valley itself nearly a thousand feet high, reached from the principal landing-place, a rocky cove near Ladder Point. At another landing near Torrens Point at the morthwest tip small boats were built, famous in the islands. The only commerce of Saba now is in poultry and vegetables, especially sweet potatoes, exported to neighboring islands. The cliff-guarded coast affords no anchorage for vessels of size, and approach through the heavy surf that breaks all along the shore is difficult, often dangerous. (ibid., 293-5.)

[21]ALS, Knox, Saba, Aug. 29, 1768 to Jacob Green, New Jersey.

[22]See Larsen, Jens, *Virgin Islands Story,* A History of the Lutheran State Church, Other Churches, Slavery, Education, and Culture in the Danish West Indies . . ." 77.

Knox's arduous and theretofore lonesome life was relieved by marriage to a daughter of the Honourable Peter Simmons, Governor of Saba, and his residence in the Governor's home. His relationship to his mother-in-law, Madam Rebecca Simmons, must have been a model of mutual admiration, judging from Knox's sermon preached at her funeral in March 1765, which was printed at the behest of the Goevrnor. In a prefatory address to the Governor Knox said, "The present distressing providence, while it has deprived me of a dear & valuable friend, & a most tender and affectionate parent, (from whom, I can truly say, I have not received a single frown or disobliging word, for the space of eight years which I have lived under her roof)—has at the same time given me a fair opportunity of testifying my grateful respect & veneration for her memory," and he signed himself "Your most obedient son, & servent in the Gospel of Christ."[23]

Our next knowledge of Hugh Knox belongs to the year following the death of Madam Simmons, 1766, when he wrote his earliest surviving letter to Rev. Jacob Green, of Hanover, New Jersey.[24]

[23]Knox, Hugh, *The Probable Sources of our Saviour's Tears Shed at the Tomb of his Friend Lazarus*, A Funeral Sermon for Madam Rebecca Simmons . . . who departed this life March 19, 1765 (n.d., n.p.). A penciled note in the Knox folder in the office of the Secretary of Princeton says he was married ante March 1759 to ——— Simmons, youngest daughter of Gov. Simmons; no source is given; another note in ibid. makes the date 1758. If he was married when he moved to the Governor's home, that would have been, by his statement in the sermon, in 1757, or two years after his arrival in Saba. For the minister to live in the governor's home (which might itself be in the fort) was frequent, and in the earlier years habitual, in the neighboring island of St. Croix; Hamilton's mother seems to have lived for a time in the home of the governor of St. Croix, at first on his estate and afterward in his official residence. In the funeral sermon, in addition to other praises of Madam Simmons, Knox mentions that she was never absent at divine service in nine years till her last illness, which indicates that he had known her for a year before he entered her home (53-4).

[24]ALS, Knox, Saba, Oct. 16; in collection of Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Jacob Green (1722-1790) was ten years Knox's senior, and had been the ordained minister at Hanover for twenty years. He and Knox doubtless knew each other when the latter was in the College at Newark; they were of the same New York Presbytery and Green was present at the meeting of Synod in 1756, the year following

Few persons today have the hardihood to ponder (much less to produce) theological doctrinal disquisitions and disputes, even though spiced with strictures that excite while they damn.[25] With much else that was responsible for this form of devotion a century ago, fierce sectarianism has succumbed to denser population and livelier diversions. Therefore the reader will not be burdened with the weight of reasoning and counter-reasoning of these brethren. Suffice it to say that Knox, having re-

Knox's ordination. Knox sent good wishes from his family to Green's as though they were friends. Green was a hardbitten Calvinist of evangelical, dogmatic persuasion; this, combined with his zeal for controversy, which was responsible for his correspondence with Knox, later led him to withdraw from the New York Presbytery and form that of Morris County. (For some particulars of the perservering career of Jacob Green see Joseph H. Jones, ed., *The Life of Ashbel Green,* 18-24; also Webster, op. cit., 527-9) The Princeton University Library has a few autograph letters of Green, 1779 and 1782 and an autograph diary for 1751, 1753, 1787; he must have been an earnest, captious individualist.) Of incidental interest is the fact that Knox began the letter with allusion to his recent recovery from "a cough, & pleurasitic pains (?) of the side," and ending by hoping for Green "abundant success in all your *physical* & ministerial labours." (ital. mine) Both references were because Green, in order to support his large family, added the practice of medicine to his clerical duties. We know from a power of attorney given by George Mitchell, at Philadelphia, 1784 (St. Croix Upper Court Protocol, vol. F, 1782-5 folio, p. 422), which designated Knox as D.D. and M.D., that Knox also offered bodily as well as spiritual healing, and Knox's obituary, (see below) said so specifically. Prescribing for the sick was common among Presbyterian ministers of the time, because they were educated men and the members of their congregations were apt to be poor and scattered at a distance from regular physicians. The Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, has the pocket scales (marked 1780) used by Rev. Nathaniel Irvin on Neshaminy Creek in weighing out medicines.

[25]Knox's most connected, formidable work had been published in London, 1768, *Discourses on the Truth of Revealed Religion and Other Important Subjects* dedicated to His Excellency John Dewindt, general and commander in chief of the Islands of St. Eustatius, Saba, and St. Martin (Thomas Cadell, Strand, 2 vols., xxiii, 345; 347 pp). The first seven sermons, or essays rather they are, present the claims of Christianity against other beliefs, especially that of the Deists. The second volume is more topical, defending the Christian clergy, exhorting to family religious observance, deploring the ill results of Negro slavery, and inveighing against drunkenness. It appears from the preface (xxi, xxii) that Knox came to the island with notes "extracted . . . from a variety of authors" which, however, he did not work up into a reasoned argument because he found it immediately necessary to devote himself to urging practical morality in alleviating slavery, lessening excessive drinking, etc. The systematic discourses (vol. I) are hard going; they

ceived from Green his promised "Sermon on Baptism"[26] proceeded to offer, in closely written pages, his grounds of dissent.

Green, converted to the demands of Watts and Jonathan Edwards, had forsworn the latitude taught him by Presidents Dickinson and Burr in admitting persons to the sacraments, and particulary required that parents bringing children for baptism must be regular partakers of communion.[27] Knox replied that from his "present Situation, & . . . present views and apprehensions of the Consequences" he felt bound to be satisfied with less in the sponsors of infants. "By endeavoring," he

show earnestness and wide acquaintance with standard authors on the questions treated; (cf. Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, *Canons for the Government of . . .*, New York, Swords, 1808, 36 pp. with a list of books for the library of a parish minister; Knox recommended or referred to several of these.) The second part, dealing with common sins of omission and commission, is spirited, easier reading.

This work may have had an influence on Hamilton—in contributing to his piety in early years in this country, making him an enemy of slavery, and, possibly, disposing him to recommend taxes to discourage drinking of strong liquor. Hamilton may have picked up one of his most effective figures of speech from II, 243, "Our duty is written, as it were, with sun beams." Sentences in one of Hamilton's earliest works—*Farmer Refuted,* 1775—remind of this: "The sacred rights of mankind are not to be rummaged for among old parchments or musty records. They are written, as with a sunbeam, in the whole volume of human nature, by the hand of Divinity itself . . ." Knox's observations on drunkenness reflect both his medical knowledge and, quite likely, his own earlier personal indulgence.

Sabin, *Books Relating to America,* vol. 9, 529, include another publication of Knox for this year—"Dr. Knox's New Year's Discourse of St. Christopher" (n.p.) 1768, 820.; I have not found a copy of it.

In more familiar vein is Knox's *Select Sermons on Interesting Subjects* (Glasgow, Robert & Andrew Foulis, MDCCLXXVI, 2 vols., 321, 327). These 27 sermons contain little doctrine, but rather the life-reflections of a wise and solicitous man. His praise of the patron who draws genius out of obscurity (p. lv) and his excellent appreciation of knowledge (pp. 34-5) would be expected in the befriender of young Hamilton. See also for a catalogue of moral and physical ills naturally lamented by a cure of souls and bodies, I, 71.

[26]Jacob Green, A.M., *A Sermon* (on Christian Baptism) delivered at Hanover( in New Jersey, November 4, 1764. Woodbridge, N.J., Samuel F. Parker, 1764. pp. 38.

[27]Green wrote (p. 21): ". . . the question . . . ought not to be so much what is the practice of the churches, as what saith the scripture? To the law and to the testimony. We are not to follow a multitude to do evil." (Green, ibid., 28)

said, "in (your) manner to keep the Church pure, I am not Certain that we might not fill it with hypocrites, who are, in the sight of God, the most detestable of sinners." And he went on with an illustration that reveals the obstacles to his labors on Saba. "The dutch ministers in the Danish Islands have a Custom . . . of bringing all their hearers to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper before marriage; in so much that you'll hardly meet with a married person among them, who is not a Communicant, & Consequently all who offer their Children to Baptism . . . have at least one of the Qualifications you require—namely a *full profession*. . . . But Good God! What Kind of Communicants?—Young fellows & married men, not only without any symptoms of serious religion, & without family religion, but Keepers of negroe wenches, and many of them frequently getting the foul distemper from such a Commerce, rakes, night rioters, drunkards, gamesters, Sabbath breakers, Church neglecters, Common Swearers, unjust dealers &c—living in these sins, & yet frequenting Sacraments at pleasure, without any Censure, suspension, or Excommunication. . . I speak partly of personal knowledge . . . and partly on Good information. . . ."

Knox called up the dangerous results of rigid prerequisites to baptism. "Vast numbers of our Congregations will still continue in a natural & unregenerate life, visibly such, & yet these people will marry & have large families of Children. Now suppose them honest enought not to play the hypocrite, but to be . . . of the same opinion with the Church, that their Children are not qualified for baptism. . . The same thing may happen to these Children, & their Children &c &c And so in the Course of a generation or two the majority of our Congregations old & young will be to all intents & purposes *unbaptised heathens* . . . to be treated with & addressed Just as we would the Wild Indians."

The letter proceeded from the practical to the metaphysical, Knox propounding to Green a theological conundrum which he did not "remember to have seen . . . fairly proposed, or answered by any Calvinistick writer" and he solicited a solution.

The query is of no importance to us except that it shows the conflict, in the mind of this humane minister, between conviction and compassion. "No man," he confided, "more firmly believes some of the great doctrines of *Calvinism* than myself," and he lists these: Yet I freely Confess, That my soul has ever dreaded some of the other peculiar & distinguishing doctrines. . . ." While he had surrounded himself, in his remote minute island, with an excellent Calvinistic library, and was regularly receiving other works from Noel, his New York bookseller, he had learned more from the frailty of his parishioners than from the strait church fathers. Doctrinal symmetry had little appeal for him as against the promptings of sympathy, and he cited scriptural passages to show that the gate was wide for the unregenerate. His God was not the sadist that some of the writers were erecting, but was infinitely merciful. The unrelenting surfs of Saba seem to have pounded into his mind more of healing than of hell.

This correspondence, as it grew, led to Knox's printed *Letter to the Rev. Mr. Jacob Green of New Jersey, Pointing out some Difficulties in the Calvinistic Scheme of Divinity . . .*[28]

In this polemic Knox was for the "moral agent," and opposed

[28]London, Printed for G. Keith, J. Johnson (1770) 101 pp. 8°; it appeared in the Churchman's Magazine, New York, 1808-9 and was republished, at the expense of that magazine, in a pamphlet, New York, 1809, T. and J. Swords, No. 160 Pearl Street, 54 pp. 22½ cm. Both of these later printings were nearly twenty years after Knox's death, that in the Churchman's Magazine representing a "rescue" by Bishop Hobart of the original pamphlet of 1770 (Webster, 659). There is confusion here. Webster, ibid., gives 1769 as the date of the original publication, but the printed letter (Swords) is dated Saba, June 26, 1770. It was probably the original "printed Letter" which Knox (ALS, Saba, January 2, 1772 to Green, Historical Society of Pennsylvania) sent Green, explaining that it had come out from England three months before, but had been delayed in transmittal because "passages to your Coast are a little unfavourable in the depths of the winter." Sabin cites an edition in New York in 1772. (Books relating to America, Vol.) Green's sermon, *The Sinner's Faultiness and Spiritual Inability,* which formed the principal target of Knox's reply, was printed in New York, 1767. Knox's *Letter to . . . Green* is made up, with omissions, of his MS. letter of Oct. 16, 1766 (4 pp.), in much larger part of another dated Saba, Aug. 29, 1768 (10 pp.), both preserved in the Jacob Green folder in the Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, and in largest part of one or more additional letters which have disappeared from this place. Evidently Knox kept copies of his MS. letters to Green and edited them for the printer.

"that *fatal concatenated ch*ain of motives which seems to bear so hard on *human liberty* . . ."[29] Speaking with candor, yet tolerance, with energy yet humility, and only occasionally mildly sarcastic, Knox in this and other utterances read himself out of the Calvinistic creed as held by the strict constructionists. In all of his orderly argument, developed under clear headings, the points documented and illustrated, he showed his admiration for virtuous human striving.

Indeed, Knox exemplified the ambition and industry which he praised in others—else how could he write sermons and closely reasoned little theological treatises in that West Indian heat, get them through a distant printing press, and to the outer world. As this pamphlet was published not long before young Hamilton came under his eye, and as we know Knox was diligent in circulating tracts,[30] he may have given the boy a copy of this one as a conversation piece in that serious day.

In the Green *Letter* Knox asked, "When our Lord looked upon the *young man* in the gospel, and *loved him,* can we suppose that he saw nothing in him morally good, which was a motive of his *love?*" So Knox himself, impressed with the promise of the youthful clerk whom he found in Nicholas Cruger's trading post in St. Croix, probably thought that native capacities were worth improving with the written word. The phrasing and construction of some of Hamilton's papers defending the cause of the American colonies a few years later bear traces of the verbal and logical influence of Knox's writings. But whether or not the boy had the tracts of his friends, it seems most natural that the deeply religious Knox would have imbued his receptive protege with a spiritual concern which was prominent in his first year on the mainland, and to which Robert Troup testified.[31]

[29]Letter to . . . Green (Swords) 10.

[30]Knox ordered four dozen copies of an "ingenious little Colloquy" (*Conference of the Infernal Councillors*), of Green, believing he could dispose of that number. This may imply something about the size of his congregation on Saba. (ALS, Knox, Saba, Jan. 2, 1772 to Green.)

[31]Troup's "Narrative," in William and Mary College Quarterly, Third Series, Vol. IV, No. 2, (April 1947) 213. The incredulity of Nathan Schachner, "Hamilton Interpreted by his Friends," in William and Mary College Quarterly, ibid., 206, about Hamilton's piety on coming to

Just as likely, Hamilton was indebted to Knox's skill in debate, which was marked not only by technical resourcefulness, but, as with Hamilton's efforts on a grander scale, by a moral earnestness which was supported by while it transcended detail.[32]

In the summer or autumn of 1771 Knox seems to have considered transferring his ministry from Saba where he had been for sixteen years; he "spent the months of September & October in that fine Island (of St. Croix) & found a number of Scotch, English, Irish & north American presbyterians there, who gave me a cordial & unanimous Invitation to come among them." By the first of the new year he had matured his plan to make the change, "from a variety of considerations too tedious for me to particularize . . ." We may gather what some of his reasons were. Though the hurricane by which Saba had been "lashed to pieces" in 1766 (Knox to Green, Oct. 16, supra), and "all matters of difference" that had raised other storms were alike in the past, he lamented other drawbacks. "I want the Converse of my ministerial Bn, to warm my devotion & quicken my languishing Zeal, & blow up any latent spark of piety which m [a] y ly buried in my heart."[33]

Not least, his salary of "about 500 pcs [of eight] per Year (for one can reckon nothing on perquisites) may do well

America seems to be in error; aside from what has been mentioned, the boy was in a nest of church-goers in Elizabethtown, his very school being in a churchyard; Schachner himself mentions Hamiton's supposed elegy on the death of Elias Boudinot's baby, hardly a profane bit (*Alexander Hamilton*, 29).

[32]Still, Knox protested to Green: "I am not fond of disputation, even in religion, for I ever find that it leads me . . . away from that awful reverential frame of mind, which I think belongs to these disputables." He thanked Green for recommending him to Rev. Alexander McWhorter "as a worthy correspondent & able disputant," but demurred on the score of existing demands on his impaired strength. (ALS, Knox to Green, Aug. 29, 1768). J. C. Hamilton, *Life of Alexander Hamilton*, I, 3-4, says, apparently on information from his father, that Knox sharpened his faculties of debate and gave him a strong religious bias.

[33]::I want to be a *hearer* sometimes, as well as a *preacher* . . . not always to *lead the devotion* . . . (which is ever my lot here) but sometimes to be a fellow worshipper, under the conduct of a holy & skilful leader." ALS, Knox, Saba, Jan. 22, 1772 to Rev. Mr. Jacob Green (Historical Society of Pa., Gratz Collection.)

Enough for a single man—but it will not support a family, as I have found by abundant experience—800pcs is little enough."

In any event, he was "induced to remove . . . to the Danish Island of St. Croix, where there is a Church provided for me, & a yearly salary of about 1200 pcs subscribed." He intended going about the first of May, 1772. His communicants were to be the Scotch, English, Irish, and "North Americans in St. Croix, who had given up a first plan of "a coalition with the Dutch & a Colleagueship with the dutch minister . . ." Most of the Dutch had subscribed on this plan, "but the English party thought best to have a place of worship of their own . . ."

Thus Hugh Knox the Presbyterian clergyman from Saba prospecting on St. Croix in September-October, 1771, might have known the boy Alexander Hamilton that early. However, no continuing association between them could have commenced before May, 1772, when Knox removed permanently to St. Croix. As Hamilton left St. Croix for Boston in September or October, 1772, he was under Knox's influence, perhaps tutelage, for six months at most.[34]

This compels us to assume that Hamilton's only systematic schooling, before he went to Elizabethtown, New Jersey, was at the hands of his mother, other relatives in St. Croix with whom he lived, and a Jewess who incidentally taught him to repeat the Decalogue in Hebrew.[35]

In the spring of 1772, when Knox first established himself on St. Croix, young Hamilton had already been more than two years in the employ of Cruger, where he showed from the beginning an extraordinary proficiency in writing, and un-

[34]The presumption that they knew each other over a longer period, beginning several years before, must be mistaken. J. C. Hamilton (*Life,* I, 3-4, *History of the Republic,* I, 42-43) implies that Knox knew Hamilton long enough to watch the unfolding of his mind, and to develop it, and that this oversight of instruction commenced prior to the boy's entrance into Cruger's store in 1769. Schachner (ibid., 6-7, 16-17) repeats this, but makes Knox the friend of Hamilton's mother, Rachel Fawcette, who died in 1768, and of *her* mother, Mary, and says that Hamilton and two other boys "were sent off to Christianstadt . . . to be tutored by Dr. Hugh Knox . . ."

[35]J. C. Hamilton, *Life,* I, 3.

doubtedly also in figures. If his "hurricane letter," written in September 1772, owed its "mouth-filling religiosities" to the "pulpit flights of Dr. Hugh Knox, his teacher and advisor,"[36] the high degree of literacy it proved could not have come from that mentor.

As a matter of fact, none of Knox's printed sermons or other writings, published or in manuscript, has the florid, extravagant style of Hamilton's youthful apostrophes; on the contrary, Knox's work is marked, as previously mentioned, by just the qualities of orderly and precise, though graceful, statement on which Hamilton in after life improved.[37]

Our next incident, supposed to have been determining in the career of Hamilton, is the hurricane that swept St. Croix August 31st, 1772, followed by Hamilton's letter, describing

[36]Schachner, ibid., 24.

[37]That Knox himself had preached on the hurricane surely helped attract him to young Hamilton's performance; see *A Discourse delivered on the 6th of September, 1772 in the Dutch Church of St. Croix, On Occasion of the Hurricane which happened on the 31st day of August*; being the most dreadful known among these Islands, since their first settlement. By Hugh Knox, Minister of the Presbyterian Church on this Island. St. Croix: Printed by Daniel Thibou, MDCCLXXII, 28 pp. 8°. It appears that the occasion was one of public penance, not confined to a single congregation; Knox may have spoken in the Dutch church because of damage to his own (p. ii). Publication of the discourse could have had the object, common in like circumstances, of presenting an authentic excuse of off-island creditors; cf. the description of desolation, and estimate of losses, 15-16 and footnote, 16-18. Except for a few paragraphs depicting scenes of the tempest, Knox's sermon was restrained, though he inevitably observed how "God spoke to us, as he did to his servant, Job, out of the midst of the whirlwind" (22) on "that awful and terrifick day of the Lord" (26). Knox dedicated the pamphlet to "His Excellency Ulrich Wilhelm Von Roepstorf, Governor-General over the Joint Danish Islands in America" and gave him full, perhaps fulsome praise for his ministrations. Hamilton wrote his letter (incidentally, to his father, which would indicate that James Hamilton had hardly "abondoned" his family, as there was communication between them) the same day Knox's sermon was delivered, probably after hearing it. Hamilton briefly recited the hours of the storm's greatest fury, direction of the hurricane, etc., and acknowledged the services of the "General," in words that sound like Knox's account. But the "self-discourse" in which he launched on his "reflections and feelings on this frightful . . . occasion" was a sophomoric flight untrammeled by the preacher's disciplined words, as least as the latter appear in print. The copy of the pamphlet in the Princeton University Library was presented to Dr. Witherspoon by the author.

and reflecting on the experience in the *Royal Danish-American Gazette* (Christianstadt), October 3.

It is probable that Knox wrote the few lines of the prefatory note; that he was the gentleman into whose hands a copy of the manuscript letter had fallen, who "showed it to others to whom it gave equal satisfaction," and who, of course, forwarded it to the editor for publication. Knox, thanking Hamilton April 31, 1777, for the latter's letter describing the last Military campaign of the Americans, used a similar expression: "It has given high satisfact. to all friends here." It is likely that promises of family and friends to supply the boy with funds on the mainland were on the basis of the manuscript letter, dated Sept. 6, as Hamilton was doubtless on the sea bound to Boston by the time the letter appeared in print Oct. 3.[38]

[38]Vol. III, No. 234/, reprinted in Gertrude Atherton, *A Few of Hamilton's Letters*, 261-7. Knox in his sermon on the hurricane impressed that "to be charitable is still in the power of many" (25) and he must have applied to some of these to send young Hamilton to the mainland for an education. The "deadness of trade" (15) made this a good time to plan the boy's release from Cruger's store. Schachner, ibid., 25, substantially follows Mrs. Atherton, placing Knox in a family conference called to provide opportunity for the young author. J. C. Hamilton, *Life*, I, 6-7; *History of Republic*, I, 45, gives Knox no part in the affair beyond furnishing Hamilton with letters of introduction to friends in New York and Elizabethtown. That J. C. Hamilton ascribed no original agency to Knox is the more remarkable, as he could have supplemented from family tradition. See supposition of Edward F. DeLancy, "Original Family Records, Cruger" in *N.Y. Genealogical and Biographical Record*, April 1875, p. 6, that it was chiefly through the influence and advice of his employer, Nicholas Cruger, that Hamilton came to the continent and his career; much that we know supports this suggestion, but the truth of it has not been demonstrated.

In 1773 the New York Presbytery applied to Synod for all or part of the money collected this year "to be applied towards the rebuilding of the Presbyterian church in the island of Saba, which was destroyed by the hurricane last year." It was agreed to send £50 through Dr. Rodgers. Knox's church in Christiansted was probably not as fine as the Episcopal edifice on Antigua as described about this time. (Schaw, Janet, *Journal of a Lady of Quality; Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies . . . in the years 1774 to 1776;* ed. by Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews, 93 ff.) St. John's had an excellent organ, spacious altar and "The Seat for the Governor General is noble and magnificent, covered with Crimson velvet; . . . the Crown Cyphers and emblems of his office embossed and very rich." Many of the worshippers were Negroes. See also, 95 ff., 274 for description of plantation houses and a sumptuous meal served to guests.

Knox himself, in a letter to Hamilton years later—quoted below at some length—assured him that ". . . I have always had a Just & secret pride in having advised you to go to America, and in having recommended you to some [of] my old friends there. . . ."We may believe that "advised" was not a strong enough word, that in reality Knox promoted the project. Hamilton was "consigned," as it were, to Kortwright & Co. of New York, a correspondent firm of his employer Nicholas Cruger, and Knox supplied him with letters to Presbyterian ministers and laymen that insured the boy a remarkable welcome in his new home.[39]

From several solicitous letters which Knox wrote to Hamilton some years later we may infer that he had a chief role in dispatching the boy to the continent. Mingled with congratulations to his young friend is Knox's obvious pride that his forecasts of Hamilton's development were being verified.[40]

[39]Hercules Mulligan in Hamilton MSS. (Library of Congress), reprinted in William and Mary Quarterly, op. cit. Knox's letters of introduction have not been found.

[40]Here may be mentioned, in its chronological place, Knox's book *The Moral and Religious Miscellany; or , Sixty-one Aphoretical Essays, on some of the most important Christian doctrines & virtues.* (New York: Printed for Hooge and Shober, 1775, viii (9- ) 360 pp. 8°; other editions Hartford, Hudson and Goodwin, 1790; Harrisburgh, John Wyeth, 1808, 2 vols. The preface says the essays "were drawn up many years ago." Among numerous virtues and vices treated, "Unchristian Abuses of the Tongue," and "Temptations Arising from Company" may have derived from Knox's own youthful lapse. "The Value and Importance of a Child" suggests something of Knox's perception of Hamilton's promise; one should "instil into [the child's] tender opening mind the principles of piety, integrity . . . who can conceive the good of which such a child may be made the instrument, or the degrees of happiness and of glory to which it may be advanced." (1775 ed., 279). The original edition has 14 pp. of names of subscribers, mostly on St. Croix, but a large number in the vicinity of Edenton, N.C., where there were many Scotch, among them Andrew Knox, Esq., merchant, of Hartford Town, who took a dozen copies. Knox in a note thanked those on St. Croix, of all denominations, who subscribed to 450 copies, "which is . . . but one among many instances of respect and civility he has received from them since his residence among them." The St. Croix list contains the notables of the island, among officials and planters, including names which come into Hamilton's story—John Mitchell, Nicholas Cruger, Capt. Kornelius Kortright, William Venton, James Towers, Benjamin Yard, Cornelius Durant; there are no Lyttons, which may indicate this family, to which Hamilton was closely related, had misfor-

Earlier letters that doubtless passed between them are lost. The first that we have is from Knox, St. Croix, April 31, 1777. He thanked Hamilton for his circumstantial account, February 19, of the campaign; Knox had been waiting for this reliable report, and had shown it around with high satisfaction. "We rejoice in your *good Character & advancemt.*, which is indeed only the just reward of merit. You may still live to deserve more & more from the friends of America." Particularly he should justify the favor of General Washington, "a name which will shine with distinguished Lustre in . . . History." He was again stirring Hamilton's ambition: "Mark this: You must be the Annalist & Biographer, as well as the aid de Camp of General Washington—& the Historigrapher of the American War! I take the liberty to insist on this . . ." For that purpose he should keep a journal. Knox tried in swift sentences to make Hamilton see that he was equal to this project.[41] Of course Hamilton's crowded short life never allowed of this—crowded with making history which other must record.

Knox's enthusiasm for the colonies' cause prompted him to write, anonymously, "An Address to America, from a Friend in a For. Govt." This he sent December 10, 1777 by "our

tunes soon after the boy left St. Croix; we find the widow of Rev. J. T. Wilhelmus Maas, whose funeral sermon Knox had preached (*Sermon on the Death of Johannes Theododus Wilhelmus Maas,* New York, 1775, 820. pp. 30). The Hartford ed., 1790, had a shorter list of subscribers, in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York, among them Oliver Wolcott, Sr., and Jedediah Morse, but not Hamilton. In this work, too, Knox employed the figure of speech used by Hamilton; in thinking of his readers he implored "the Father of lights to write these truths . . . with sun-beams upon their understandings . . ." (1775 ed., vi).

[41] This ALS, Knox, St. Croix, April 31, 1777 to Hamilton is in Hamilton MSS, Library of Congress. Hamilton's letter to which it is the reply is the one referred to by Cornelius Durant, ALS Boston, March 27, 1778 to Hamilton. (Hamilton MSS., III, 411, Library of Congress.) He would forward letters to Knox; "The Intelligence we have had at St. Croix has been very [little?] . . . Your letter to Mr. Knox before the Opening of the Campaign last year gave us more satisfaction than any Intelligence we before recd. Which makes him as well as many other of your friends Anxious to have an Accot. from your hands—I purpose before I return to St. Croix my taking Coppys & forward by Different Opportunity, agreeable to his desire." (Hamilton MSS, III, 411, Library of Congress.)

worthy friend (torn) Mr. Cornelius Durant," hoping Congress would publish it. He begged from Hamilton a full half-folio of news.[42]

Another letter of perfect confidence in Hamiton's achievements reached him from Knox by the hand of "Mr. Beakman,"[43] (written at St. Croix July 28, 1784)[44] in reply to one sent when Beakman went down.

Hamilton's letter to Knox had closed a "long Chasm" in their

[42]ALS, Hugh Knox, St. Croix, Dec. 10, 1777, to Hamilton "at Headquarters Continental Army, America," Hamilton MSS, I, 92, L.C. He said he had written two copies of his answer to Hamilton's earlier letter. Hamilton's letter here referred to was probably that of July, 1777 (Lodge, Works, IX, 82-6) lamenting the evacuation of Ticonderoga, anticipating the movements of Burgoyne and Howe, and discounting the probable loss of Philadelphia. He reassured Knox by giving what was Washington's strategy: ". . . our hopes are not placed in any particular city or spot of ground, but in the preserving a good army, furnished with proper necessaries, to take advantage of favorable opportunities, and waste and defeat the enemy by piecemeal," and he twice repeated the same conviction. Durant, in the letter referred to in the previous footnote, said he planned to visit Hdq. and would "then . . . have the pleasure of showing You a political piece in manuscript wrote by Mr. Knox with Regard to America." Knox himself, in his letter to Hamilton of Dec. 10, 1777, after praising "that eligance (sic) & dignity of which your fine pen is capable," and again urging that Hamilton collect materials for a history of the war, refers to sending for publication by Congress (if approved) "A Piece of mine, Intitled 'An Address to America by a friend of a foreign Government." No trace of this has been found.

[43]Mr. Philip White, of Columbia University, is most familiar with the Beckman papers, in the New York Historical Society; while he tells me that several members of the family were engaged in trade with the West Indies at this period, he is unable to identify this individual, who must have known Hamilton by more than reputation. Beekman also apparently brought a letter from Hamilton's boyhood friend Edward Stevens, (the "Neddy" of Hamilton's earliest preserved letter), who after studies in New York and Edinburgh was established in medical practice in St. Croix, but it has disappeared. Compare with Knox's suggestion that Stevens had become distant a letter of Stevens to Hamilton sevens years before, AL, Edinburgh, Dec. 23, 1777( not signed, but endorsed "Dr. Edward Stevens."). He had written Hamilton repeatedly, professed his unchanged attachment, and taxed Hamilton for not answering; ". . . have you forgotten those vows of eternal Friendship, which we have so often mutually exchanged." He had been without intelligence of Hamilton's fortunes "untill very lately your friend Dr. Knox informed me, that he had heard from you . . ." (Hamilton's letter to Knox in Feb. 1777). Stevens ended, "yours inviolably." (Hamilton MSS, I, 93, Library of Congress.)

[44]Hamilton MSS, V, 679, Library of Congress; apparently this letter has not been printed before.

correspondence; though Knox had written often, usually introducing people to Hamilton's notice, his notes "may have rested with these individuals." He and other St. Croix friends were delighted with Mr. Beekman's account of Hamilton's progress. "For believe me, I have always had a Just & secret pride in having advised you to go to America, & in having recommended you to some [of] my old friends there;[45] since you have not only *answered*, but even far *exceeded*, our most sanquine hopes & expectations. I am glad to find that your popularity increases, & that your fine talents are coming into play, in a way that Contributes so much to your Own honour & emolument, & to the good of the public."

Knox hoped that the exercises of war "may have a little fortified & steeld your Constitution (which used to be rather delicate & frail)—But beWare do not enfeeble & impair it again, by plunging into intense studies, & the anxieties of the Bar:—For I know your laudible ambition to excell, & that you will strain every nerve to be among the first of your profession. And, great as your talent [s] are, I should imagine that the accurate study of so complex & Voluminous a science as the law, & acquiring all the habits of a pleader, would cost you a deal of Labour."

Knox went on to propose, with remarkable prescience when we remember that he had not seen his young friend in a dozen years, that Hamilton would best serve the public in a public capacity. "Your Matrimonial Connections, I should think, might Enable you to live at your ease (I do not mean the *otium ingloriosum*, but the otium honestum) as a Gentleman of Independent fortune, and to pursue studies more pleasing to yourself, & perhaps more profitable to the Commonwealth, & to posterity—You guess at the meaning of this hint—But are certainly a better judge of the property & expediency of your present pursuits, than I can possibly be." He wished Hamilton joy of his "fine boy" (Philip "the first," than an infant); he

[45]Supposed to have included John Mason and John Rodgers of New York, and William Livingston and Elias Boudinot of New Jersey.

supposed that the baby's mother was not born when Knox left the Continent.

Hamilton's old friend Dr. Stevens had a lucrative practice and was "deservedly esteemed." A hint of Knox's own acquaintance with medicine comes out in his further allusion to Dr. Stevens: ". . . whether his torturing so many quadrupeds in Edinburgh, in his experiments on the *succus gastricus* of the stomach, may not have a little injured his sensibility, & made him a cooler friend & less cordial companion, I cannot take upon me to say." But he closed with praise of Stevens for his "fine adress, & Great merit." The allusion to Stevens does not argue that Knox knew him when Stevens and Hamilton were boys together. Knox did not go to St. Croix as a resident until May 1772, but anyhow Stevens was off the island when Hamilton wrote him in 1769 (Lodge, Works of Hamilton, IX, 37-8), was later a student at King's College and the University of Edinburgh, and may have been hardly known to Knox until he returned to St. Croix to practice medicine; Knox refers to Dr. Stevens as a "friend" and "companion," and not as he might have alluded to a former pupil.

The remainder of the story is quickly told. Hamilton turned to Knox to aid in collecting some small inheritances supposed to fall to him through his mother.[46] Knox was a natural recourse, as Hamilton had lost sight ,for long periods, of his father and his brother James,[47] and his ties with Edward Stevens were not so close as formerly. Knox by this time had been a dozen or more years on St. Croix, and as a leading man in the community would have wide acquaintance and influence.

Hugh Knox died October 9, 1790 on St. Croix, at the age of 63. His obituary in the Royal Danish-American Gazette gives

[46]See Hamilton to Messrs. Semphill & Co., May 26, 1786 (Lodge, Works, IX, 415-6; Knox to Hamilton, Oct. 27, 1783 (J. C. Hamilton, History of the Republic, II, 318).

[47]See Alexander Hamilton to James Hamilton, Jr., June 23, 1785 (Lodge, Works, IX, 405-6) ; James Hamilton, Sr., to Alexander Hamilton, St. Vincent, June 12, 1793 (Hamilton MSS. Library of Congress). Allusion was made above to the action of a relative of Hamilton, temporarily in New Jersey, reposing legal trust in Knox.

every evidence of his prominence in the life of the island.[48] He was described as "Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, and Physician; Eminent in, and an ornament to the former Profession, Judicious and successful in the latter." He was "a sincere . . . and firm friend, and an Universal lover of Mankind." He had had precarious health, and met his last illness with fortitude.

Fourteen years later, when Hamilton met his untimely end. the New York Society of the Cincinnati invited a memorial oration on his life from Dr. John M. Mason,[49] who was one of those to whom Knox in the beginning commended his young portege.

Several brief accounts of Knox[50] say that, like his patron Rev. John Rodgers before him, he was honored with award of the D.D. degree by the University of Glasgow. It is certain that Glasgow did not confer a degree on Knox;[51] the confusion is doubtless with the S.T.D. degree given him by Yale.

[48]Oct. 13, 1790; for a copy of the notice I am indebted to Dr. Ole Jacobsen, librarian of the Universitetsbiblioteket, Copenhagen, Denmark; unfortunately, apprecation of Knox's character and services left almost no room for particulars of his life which would be of value now; no mention was made of Knox's connection with Alexander Hamilton, then in his first year as Secretary of the Treasury and about to bring to fruition the talents which Knox had discerned and steadily encouraged.

[49]*An Oration, Commemorative of the late Major-General Alexander Hamilton; pronounced before the New-York State Society of the Cincinnati, on Tuesday, the 31st July, 1804.* New-York: Printed by Hopkins and Seymour, and sold by G. F. Hopkins, at Washington's Head, No. 118, Pearl Street. 1804, 40 pp. Nathan Schachner (William and Mary College Quarterly, ibid., 205) says Dr. John Mason, for whom Robert Troup in 1810 wrote his reminiscences of Hamilton, "contemplated a biography."

[50]Cf. Webster, op. cit., 661.)

[51]Prof. C. F. Fordyce, clerk of the senate of the University of Glasgow, wrote me Nov. 16, 1950 that "we know nothing of the Hugh Knox about whom you enquire. There is no evidence that he was at any time a member of this University and the minutes show no record of his having received the degree of D.D. in the 1770's."

Mr. Hallon A. Farr, curator of Yale memorabilia, writes me, Dec., 1950, that the "Catalogus eorumqui in Collegio-Yalensi quod est novo-Portu Connecticutensium ab anno MDCCII an Annum MDCCLXXVIII alicujus Gradus Laurea donati sunt" for 1784, p. 31, notes "Hugo Knox, Mr. S.T.D. alibi; "this entry is repeated for 1787, 1790, and 1793, the last entry indicating by an asterisk that Knox is dead. The very latest

*Triennial Catalogue,* 1924, p. 573, gives among the honorary graduates "Hugh Knox, M.A.; B.A. Princeton 1754; M.A. Princeton (no date); D.D. Glasgow." The last is in error for S.T.D. Yale.

Hugh Knox had more than one child. The youngest was Hugh Knox, Jr., (which may mean that he was the only son, born December 19, 1781. His mother died when he was six; shortly before his father died three years later the boy was sent to Norwalk, Connecticut to the care of Rev. Dr. Matthias Burnet, by whom he was prepared for college. Dr. Burnet was a graduate of Princeton, 1769, which would give the elder Knox a tie with him. The boy entered Yale as a freshman after the opening of the session, and graduated A.B. September 10, 1800 in a class of 36; he did not stand high in his class, as he was not among the eighteen who "exhibited," nor was he elected to Phi Beta Kappa; he was a member of the Brothers in Unity, a literary society. He may have been hampered by the ill health which decided him to abandon study of the law on which he entered with Roger Minott Sherman (Yale 1792) in Fairfield. The records nowhere show whether Alexander Hamilton knew Hugh Knox, Jr. He formed a business connection with Samuel Cannon of Norwalk, whose eldest daughter, Henrietta (Belden) Cannon he married early in 1803. She died in 1812 and Knox married, in 1818, Martha (Pynchon) Keeler of Norwalk. By his first wife he had two sons, of whom the younger died in infancy. The older son, born Nov. 15, 1803, was John LeGrand Knox, his middle name coming from his mother's brother, LeGrand Cannon.

Hugh Knox, Jr. lived on the east side of Norwalk Green in what was later the Cowles house. In 1810 he and his wife joined the First Congregational Church near their home; he was known for his strong religious feeling and his taste for reading. His brother-in-law, Cannon, having moved to Albany, followed by Knox's son John, Knox joined them in 1840; he died in Troy on August 8, 1858, in his seventy-seventh year. It is worth noting that the first wife of Hugh Knox, Jr. was related by marriage to Cornelius Kortright, probably of Connecticut, who must have been of the same family as the Cornelius Kortright who lived in St. Croix and was associated in business with Hamilton's employer, Nicholas Cruger; that would have been another reason why the boy, Hugh Knox, Jr. was sent to Connecticut. A great grandson of Hugh Knox, Sr., Charles Sigourney Knox, was long headmaster of St. Paul's School in Concord, New Hampshire. (Most of this note on Hugh Knox, Jr. comes from Dexter, Franklin B., *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College, with Annals of the College,* Vol. V, 408-9. Mr. Farr, of Yale, has been kind enough to send me a copy of the program of his graduation exercises, as also information from the broadside catalogues of Yale for the years 1796-1800. See also Selleck, Charles M., *Norwalk,* 246-7, 272, 408 for descendants of Hugh Knox, Jr.; Hall, Edwin, *The Ancient Historical Records of Norwalk, Conn.,* . . . 248 gives, from the genealogical register of the Town Records, the date of Hugh Knox, Jr.'s birth.

## CALVIN GREEN'S "DIARY"

## THE LIFE OF CALVIN GREEN

Editor's Note: We publish herewith "The Life of Calvin Green." He was born in Hanover, Morris County, in 1765, lived there all his life, and died there in 1847. His father, the Rev. Jacob Green, was the minister at Hanover from 1746 to his death in 1790. His brother, Ashbel Green, was president of Princeton. This "Life" has been given to the Society by Calvin Green's great-granddaughters, Mrs. Laura Green Dorer and Miss Emma J. Green, of 25 Fairfield Avenue, West Caldwell, the daughters of the diarist's grandson, mentioned in the diary, under the year 1845: "Willis has a son born a fine boy he is. His name is Jacob. We have 7 Jacob Green's in our connection." The diary is obviously not the original as it is not in the handwriting of Calvin Green. It has been copied in pen and ink in a careful, apparently feminine hand on ruled, copybook paper sewed with thread, the cover missing and the first page torn, as appears in the reproduction of it. Mrs. Dorer believes it might have been copied by an aunt of hers, from the similarity of handwritings, but of the original she has no knowledge. The internal evidence in the diary, however, such as family data and facts which can be corroborated from other known sources, would tend to prove the authenticity of the narrative.

I am about to write of some things that took place in every year of my life. I, Calvin Green, was born of christian parents July 25th, 1765, in Hanover, New Jersey. The Rev. Jacob Green,[1] my father, preached the gospel in this place 44 years. He had two wifes. The name of his first wife[2] was Ann Strong from Long Island

[1]Rev. Jacob Green was born at Malden, Mass., in 1721, the son of Jacob and Dorothy (Lynde) Green and the great-grandson of Thomas Green, the original settler from England in 1635. Graduated from Harvard in 1744. Came to Hanover, New Jersey, in November, 1746, as minister of the Hanover church and stayed there until his death, May 24, 1790. Served as interim president of Princeton from November 23, 1758 to May 9, 1759, after the death of Johnathan Edwards. Was one of five members from Morris County to the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, June 10, 1776.

[2]Jacob Green's first wife was Anna Strong, of Brookhaven, Long Island, whom he married in 1747 and who died in November, 1756, leaving four children: Ann, born 1748, married J. Tuttle; Abigail, 1750-1781, married Hezekiah Broadwell; Dorothy, born 1752, married W. Cocker; and Joseph, born 1754, married Abigail Britton.

wife my mother was Elizabeth Pierson[3]
of the Rev. John Pierson of Woodbri
By his first wife he had four children
three daughters Nancy, Abigail
By his second wife[4] he had
sons and two daughters
thers were
and
early from a child.) and to hear me talk I could not talk plain and they to hear me chat. When I was over one and a half years old I run in a gocart and fell in the fire and burned one of my eyes. When I was four years old I began to go to school and went to school 5 or 6 years. One thing I remember when young, my father building a new barn. I went to see workmen and a shingle came off the and cut a hole in my head I went to the house for my Mother to do
It bled a good deal.
I was six years old I could read in the Bible. I always The Bible. It does me good
Catechisma
ld I cou
I was eleven years old that is the year 1776 the war began.

[3]In 1757 Jacob Green married as his second wife Elizabeth Pierson, 1726-1810, the daughter of Rev. John Pierson, 1689-1770, the minister at Woodbridge, New Jersey, from 1714 to 1752 and for ten years after that the minister at Mendham. John Pierson was the youngest son of Abraham Pierson, the first president of Yale, and the grandson of Abraham Pierson, the first minister at Newark, New Jersey, in 1666. After the death of the Rev. John Pierson's second wife, he came to Hanover, New Jersey, to make his home with his daughter, Mrs. Jacob Green, and died there in 1770.

[4]Elizabeth (Pierson) Green had seven children: Elizabeth, 1758-1825, married Rev. Ebenezer Bradford, a graduate of Princeton in 1773, afterwards minister at South Hanover, New Jersey, at Danbury, Conn., and finally at Rowley, Mass., where he died in 1801; Benoni, 1760-1760; Pierson, born 1761, married "Polly" Squier, died 1832; Ashbel, 1762-1848, married first, Elizabeth Stockton, daughter of Major Robert Stockton, second Chra. Anderson, and third, M. McCulloh; Calvin, the author of this diary, 1765-1847, married Hannah Beach, 1768-1847; Keturah, "my sister Hittie," 1767-1856, married first Darling Beach, 1764-1793, and second, David Young; and J. Wickliff, born 1769, married Eliza Fitch, died 1813.

That year my sister Betsey was married to the Rev. Ebenezer Bradford. The same year my father put out his place to Elijah Jones for 3 years to work the place on shares. He moved in a house that belonged to my father that stood near where he lived. I worked some with Mr. Jones boys. The war come on and he did not stay but 2 years. This year my brother Pierson listed in the army during the war and staid till the war was over which lasted 7 years. One thing I forgot. When I was 3 or 4 years old my Mother would take me by the hand and lead me to meeting and back again. There was a little foot path on one side of the road that I always walked in when I went to meeting. O the best of Mothers to take care of me when young. I think I was an obedient boy. My father never whipt me but once. My Mother never whipt me. I was never whipt at school. The Master would give me the whip to whip the girls. I never whiped them hard I loved the girls to well to hurt them much. The master said he must whip the boys. When I was a big boy I was feruled once but I did not deserve it. In the year 1778 when Mr. Jones moved away my father hired John Roberts to work for him a year. I worked with him what I could. When I was a child I had the Rickitts in my back. I was not able to work as much as some folk. 1779 William Ball moved here and worked with me on the farm some of the time. He worked at his trade some of the time. He was a shoemaker by trade. In January, 1780, I scalded my leg and was not able to work. I went over every day to see him work at shoes. I made out to hobble about with a crutch. This is a hard winter the hardest winter we have had in many years. The snow was so deep that we could ride on the banks over the tops of fences with horses and sleighs. In some places the ice was so hard and thick some people went over to Staten Island with horses and sled—Now I must go back again and tell you that when I was young my father made it a point to chatechise us on Sabbath nights at 5 o'clock in summer and 6 o'clock in winter. He spent about one hour and a half instructing us. I was taught when young to say

verses morning and evening some would call them prayers. The one at night

Now I lay me down to sleep
I pray the Lord my soul to keep
If I should die before I wake
I pray the Lord my soul to take.

The verse for morning

First in the morning when thou dost awake
To God for his grace some petition make
Some heavenly petition use daily to say
That the God of heaven may bless the alway

These verses and some others I made it my duty to say from day to day. In the spring 1780 my father hired John Roberts to work for him another year. Now I was 15 years old and able to do a good deal of work and we carried on the farm at a great rate. The war held on this summer. The Brittish came over from New York and burned Springfield and did much damage. One of the men shot through the window and shot a Ministers wife on the hed and killed her. After my leg got well that was scalded, I went to school where was a cross dog. My brother Pierson came home from the army to see us. I told him about the dog. He told me he would go and break his head. We went He got a pole from the fence The dog came out He struck him 3 or 4 blows and drove him back again and almost broke his back. 1781 My father thought that I must learn a trade. A shoemaker and tanner was thought a good trade. John Smisson had learned one of the neighbors boys a trade. My father got him to learn me He moved here We had a good place for a tanyard. We dug tanvats got what hides we could and went to tanning. I had to work on the farm. I did not do much at the trade. So much for that year. The year 1782 The work went on much as the last year. I worked on the farm part of the time and at my trade part of the time. This year my brother Pierson (was) wed Polly Squire. He was yet in the army. 1783. This year the war broke up and peace was declared. Mr. Smithson and I went on with our trade and farm. We thought I must

go somewhere else where I could work steady at my trade. My father went to Mr. Timothy Cooper Wards and agreed with him to learn me to tan curry and shoemake for 10 pounds. I found my own clothes. I went home Saturday nights and staid til Monday morning. Our folks did my washing. I must go back once more in the year 1774 My father built a schoolhouse across the road and set up a lattin school. He had 8 scholars. My brother, Ashbel, James Cook, Samuel Beach, Caleb Tuttle, Lent W. Fairchild, John Howel, David Youngs and William Ely. And now for the year 1784. This year My brother Ashbel was married to Betsey Stockton. April 1 Mr. Smithsin moved out of the house. My brother Pierson moved in the house. The 10th of April there came a snow 3 or 4 inches deep. I carried my bench and tools to Mr. Wards in the sleigh on the 11th. This year my father gave up his practice to Doctor John Dorsey. I went to Mr. Wards and began to work. This was something new to me. I had never went from home to live befor but I got along very well. Mr. and Mrs. Ward were clever folks. He had two apprentices. I began to go into company. It was no profit to me. I began to lose what little serious impressions I had and to my shame I left off secret prayer. (I always made it a practice to pray in secret from a child). but I hope the Lord will forgive me. Mr. Ward had a great deal of tanning to do. It kept us very busy. Mr. Ward and we boys agreed very well. We always lived in peace and that is a good deal. So much for the first year. In 1785 we went on our work very well. I began to shave leather and to curry the fore part of the year. Mr. Ward had not much work to do I went to Mr. Millers to work for my victuals. When the year was out I could tan, curry and shoemake pretty well. The year 1786. The first of April was training. I went. There was a good deal of mud and snow. I got my feet wet and cold and like a fool I must go off to see the girls and got at night a great cold and had the pleurisy and was laid up for six weeks. I was very sick. I was bled. This was the only time I was bled. I had a bad swelling. Doctor Dorsey lanced it and hurt me very much. I was sick till

within 5 or 6 weeks of being 21 years old. My father thought it was best not to go back to Mr. Wards again. He said that if I would work for him he would pay me till my time was out. Mr. Ward said I might do as I thought best. I did not go back. I heard some people say all must get drunk once. I got drunk once drinking wine and sick enough was I and spued and spued till I felt better. I think once is a plenty. When I was of age my father told me I must know what it was to get a living. He said I must pay him for my board which was a dollar a week and he would pay me for my work. I thought it a little hard at first but I soon found it was for the best. I worked for my father shoemaking and farming. I worked for my father about ten months. I paid him for a horse and a watch which cost 20 pounds besides a saddle and bridle. I bought me some clothes. Now how could I have done better. I think there is few that does better and now I am going to tell something that I need to be ashamed of. One Sabbath day between meetings I went upstairs into one of the pews with some of the young folks. They began to carry on very wickedly and I joined with them to say and do many things that was bad. They told me they would not believed it of me a minister's son to carry on so on the Sabbath. I told them it was the first and I hoped the Lord would forgive me. In the year 1787 my brother Pierson and I and my fathers boy John Woodruff worked the farm together. Each had one third. I boarded with Pierson that summer so that we could go to work together. We went on and raised fine crops but buckwheat the greatest. We had 100 bushels. The Lord saw fit to prosper us in our labors. We ought to be thankful for it. In the fall I began to think about getting me a wife. I went to see 20 different girls. I had a good deal of corn. I bout me a hog and fatted him and killed and salted it down. I thought if I did get married (which I was not much concerned about as there was plenty of girls) the pork would do for next summer and it did. I went on to court my wife and was married to Hannah Beach[5] the 27th of December 1787.

[5]Hannah Beach, 1768-1847, was the daughter of Stephen Beach, 1732-1791, (Noah 3, Benjamin 2, John 1) and Patience (Bedford) Beach.

We had 4 sons and 2 daughters.[6] In the spring 1788 in March we moved in the house where my brother Pierson had lived. My wifes brother[7] said he would go and live with me and learn the trade. He come with us this spring. I had two heifers twins. They were so much alike it was hard to tell them a part. They both had calves this spring. They were 3 years old. My wife had one cow. We were very well off to begin with. 3 cows is more than many have to begin with. The mare I bought of my father had a colt. This year we finished the meeting house. I gave 8 dollars toward it.

We went on with our tanning. We cleared out the old tanvats. I got what hides we could. When we come to draw the hides and flesh them he did not like the trade and went home. It was a pullheck to me. I wanted his help in haying and harvest but he has gone. I must work myself. I did one hard days work. I stired and raked 3 tons of hay. On the 9th of December my daughter Nancy was born at 3 oclock in the afternoon.

1789 I did what I could at farming on shares. I had a good piece of flax and other grain. My mare died. Quite a loss to me. I began to pray in secret. I thought it time to begin. I began to think of the things of another world. I think I have more sense than I ever had before. What I read in the Bible shows me that Christ is willing to save as great a sinner as I. It says I even am He that blotteth out their transgressions for mine own sake and will not remember thy sins. I read that those which seek him shall find him. I read in Isaiah 55 :6 Let the wicked forsake his ways. Let him return unto the Lord and he will have mercy on him and to our God and He will abundantly pardon. I conversed with my Mother about these things. She gave me good advice and said that where the Lord had begun a good work he would carry it on and many other things. She told me my wife

[6]Nancy, born December 9, 1788, died October 22, 1812, unmarried; Jacob, born August 13,1790, married Mary Henderson; Gabriel, born September 10, 1794, married first Mary Muchmore, second Harriet Woodruff; Willis, born February 15, 1803, married Betsey A. Woodruff; John Calvin, born January, 1806, died June 1, 1807; Elizabeth, born March 24, 1809, died March 17, 1838, unmarried.

[7]Probably her twin brother, Noah Beach, 1768-1825.

was under conviction. At this time we both went and conversed with my father. He talked some time with us and asked us many questions and one was whether I thought I could pray in my family. I told him I thought I could. He told me it was a duty. I did not know how to begin but I did begin and the Lord helped me. I made out better than I thought I should. My father said we ought to join the church. The time was set and we joined the church in October and had our child baptized.

The year 1790 I told my father that I would hire a man for a year and work the place on shares. He said I might. I hired a good hand for 25 pounds. We plowed a good many acres for corn. The 28th of April we had a snow 3 or 4 inches deep and covered the plowed. The 24th of May my father died and left the place to me I thought of building an addition to my house. A Mr. White[8] from New England came to preach for us the first of August. I went on to cut a number of trees for bark. We went on to raise fine crops. In the winter we had a great deal of sledding. My colt was 3 years old. It was all the horse I had. I had 3 or 4 different horses to try and that was the way I got along through the summer but now I bought me a horse. We cut and drew about 100 logs to the sawmill. The 13th of August my son Jacob was born at 2 oclock in the afternoon. Darling Beach[9] was married to sister Hittie. There has been about 10 deaths this year.

1791 I went on to build my house. It was raised and stood till fall. I went on with my farming till fall then I finished my house. I went to Elizabethtown for a load of shingles and before I got home one of my horses fell down dead in the harness. I got one of the neighbors horses and got my load home. I bought me another horse. I repaired the old part of my house. Mr. White was ordained over this people.

1792. I made me a small piece of meadow called the tan vat

[8]Calvin White began to supply the pulpit July 11, 1790 and preached his final sermon October 18, 1795.

[9]Darling Beach, 1764- 1793, was the son of Captain Enoch Beach and Susanna (Day) Beach and a first cousin of Mrs. Hannah Beach Green, the diarist's wife.

meadow. I changed work with my neighbors. I plowed for them and did other team work and they did my hoeing, cradleing, mowing and threshing, cut wood and some other work. This is the way I farmed for many years. I gave up the shoemaking for farming.

1793 Darling Beach died. Not much but farming this year. I had fine crops and desire to thank God and say the lines have fallen to me in pleasant places so I have a goodly heritage.

1794. I gave up my trade and went on with my farm. I cleared about 4 acres of low land for meadow and seeded it. It made a very good meadow. The tenth day of September my son Gabriel was born at 3 oclock in the morning. About this time my brother Wickliff was married to Eliza Fitch.

1795 Not much to tell of this year. My farm was carried on as cornsman. The meadow I had made was not so good this year. Mr. Calvin White was dismissed from this place. I went to Caldwell and bought 100 white ash rails to make a fence between me and the parsonage. The parish bought 40 acres of woodland for a parsonage and cleared off about 10 acres for meadow. They burned my brush fence. I had to hire hands to cut and split rails and made a new fence. One thing I forgot. In the year 1789 my father had four lattin scholars. They boarded with me. They made a house in an appletree to study in. In the year 1796 we had different ministers to preach for us after Mr. White went away. The Rev. Aaron Condit[10] began to preach for us the first of July. The 13 of December Mr. Condit was installed over this people. I bought shingles to repair the barn. My meadow turned out well this year, some of it three tons to the acre.

1797 I built an addition to my barn and built a new cowhouse. I laid my barn floor so well I believe it will not want any thing

[10]Rev. Aaron Condit, 1765-1851, was born at Orange, the son of Samuel and Mary (Smith) Condit. He was for over thirty-five years minister of the church at Hanover. He moved to Morristown in 1839 and died there in 1851. His first wife, whom he married in 1794 was Mary Dayton, the daughter of Daniel Dayton, of Elizabeth. She died February 23, 1820. He married second Sarah Conkling, daughter of Stephen Conkling, of Morristown.

done to it in 40 years. This I call a good floor. I bought me a clock[11] I paid 20 pounds for it. A number of us joined and bought Mr. Condit a horse.

1798. I went on with my farm and the Lord prospered me in my work. The Lord has done me good all my days where off I am glad and delight to be thankful. We built our Academy. I paid 8 pounds toward it. We put a new roof on the parsonage and barn. Our well failed and I dug a new one back of the house 30 feet deep.

1799. Not much this year but to say my crops turn out well for my labour. It can be seen in another place how much grain I had from year to year.

1800 Jacob began to study latin in our Academy. I prospered in my farm and kept Jacob at school. My mare had a colt. During the year 1801 I kept Jacob at school though I had to drive about and work to pay for it. I sold 20 dollars worth of grass to pay for a years schooling. 5 dollars a quarter.

1802 Jacob went to Morristown to school. I gave one dollar a week for his board and 5 dollars to Mr. Stephenson a quarter. This came to 60 dollars a year and I had to stir about to pay it. My wifes mother. The college at Princeton was burned. I gave something towards building another. I gave my mother $15 a year for her thirds.

1803 Jacob changed his school at Morristown to go to Mr. Whelply. He had a select school. February 15 my son Willis was born.

1804 Jacob left Morristown and went to Parsippany to school to Mr. Phelps. I had to give 12 shillings a week for his board. I always got him in religious families to board. The Lord prospered me so that I made out to keep along. I bought me a windmill to clean grain. I put part of the place out to raise broom corn on shares. Gabriel was now 10 years old. He and I worked to till the other part of the land Jacob was

[11]This clock, a tall, "grandfather's clock" in mahogany in excellent condition, now stands in the home of Mrs. George Dorer in West Caldwell.

always willing to work during vacation. I made more than $100 this year in brooms.

1805 Mr. Phelps gave up the school to Jacob. Mr. Phelps oversee the school and paid Jacob for teaching and now Jacob began to help himself and got along without much of my help. I hired a man for a month to raise broomcorn. We made more than 200 dollars this year in brooms.

1806 Jacob continued his studies. My son John Calvin was born in January. I found it difficult to get work done so I went and hired a negro man for two years paying his master $150. Now we prefered to go on with our work. I told Gabriel we would raise 8 acres of broomcorn besides the other work. Our brooms and broom seed come to $300. That paid for the men and helped to keep Jacob along.

1807 Jacob went from Parsippany to Morristown to teach an English school. Here he did not do very well. Some of the folks were poor and did not pay him. My negro man got dissatisfied and bought his time in the fall. The crops were poor a very dry season. From 9 acres we had but 700 brooms. I bought me a new harness and bought 3 or 4 hundred rails at Mendham and tried my new harness carting them. It did very well. My son John Calvin died. We found him dead in bed. I broke a colt that I raised from a colt. There was a great revival at Newark. My daughter Nancy went and spent some weeks there. She staid till she obtained a hope I was sometimes. It is good to go to such places.

1808 Jacob came and kept a school of a few scholars in my house. He went to the academy and kept a while and then to Bottlehill[12] and taught there. We had a great revival here. 130 were added to this church. The colt I broke did not prove to be good and I exchanged her for a better one.

1809 March 24 my daughter Elizabeth was born. The mare I exchanged for had a colt. My best horse was taken sick. My old horse 23 years died. Jacob went on with his school. Gabriel

[12]Madison.

and I did what we could on the farm. I put out some land on shares to raise broomcorn.

1810 The horse that was sick had the Yellow water. Gabriel cut his throat in the woods. Now I had none but the mare and colt. It was not thought best to bring another on the place for fear of the distemper. I bought me a pair of oxen. They were very good. I gave sixty dollars for them. Gabriel and I did what we could with them on the place. Jacob went to Brunswick to college. My dear Mother died aged 84. I hired 50 dollars to keep Jacob along at College.

1811. I hired a big boy to work with Gabriel. We raised 5 acres of broom corn which made $270 worth of brooms. We had a great hail shower. Gabriel was now 17 years old and went away to a trade. He went to live with Ebenezar Pierson at Bottlehill to learn the painters trade. Mr. David Youngs[13] who lived across the road died. Willis was large enough now to weed broomcorn and was quite a help to me. I bought me a new chair and harness.

1812. Willis and I went on with our work as well as we could. We raised four or five hundred brooms. My colt died. It was a loss. I sold my oxen and bought me a new wagon and another horse. Jacob got through College and went to Newark to assist Mr. Whelply in a latin school. There he obtained a hope that he was born again. This gave me new life. Now I thought he would be a minister which I had always desired. My daughter Nancy died aged 24. She lived and died a christian but few like her.

1813. Lydia Winans came to our house to live. Gabriels eyes would not allow him to learn painting so he went to Morristown to learn chairmaking. Jacob was about him this summer studying some and helping me make fence and other work. In the fall he went to the Semmanary at Princeton under the care care of his uncle; Dr. Green. I put out some of my land to till and Willis and I did what we could with the other part. My

[13]David Youngs married Calvin Green's sister, Keturah, ("Hittie), after the death of her first husband, Darling Beach.

brother Wickliff died. I began to train when I was 18 years old and trained till I was 45. In all that time I did not miss one training. I was in the uniform company of Grennedeer about 20 years. I carried the same gun all the time and a good one it was.

1814 The new meeting house of Orange was dedicated First Church. I hired Lindly Beach[14] to work for me 7 months and It went on well. We raised 8 acres of broomcorn. Our brooms came to 250 B acres of corn. There was a hail shower that cut our corn leaves to pieces so we had to cut it off close to the ground. I hired about $200 of one and another to keep Jacob along through college and seminary. We made one hundred lengths of fence.

1815 I hired the same man again as before. We raised 8 acres of broomcorn and 3 of corn. The crops were pretty good. On Fourth of July Willis got shot by the cannon and hurt very bad but through the goodness of God he got well to work in seven or eight weeks. Calvin Edwards lived in our house. Jacob came from the seminary was licensed and preached his first sermon the 15th of October. Gabriel was ot of his time. This year we made about $270 worth of broom

1816. Jacob and Mr. Burr Baldwin went for a year to Ohio as missionaries. Gabriel went to Easton to set up his business and Lindly Beach went with him. I carried chair stuff and flag for him in my wagon to begin. He staid two weeks got disappointed and sold out. I went and brought him home. I carried him to New York to work. There came on a storm of rain and I staid 4 days. In two or three weeks we all Mother myself Lindly Willis and Lydia went to New York. We went and came the same day. We left Mother there for a week. I then went after her and took Elizabeth with me. This was a very dry season. Crops were very poor. We planted 9 acres of broomcorn and had but 300 brooms.

1817 Jacob was married to Mary Henderson and came home on horseback he on one and she on another. She was very tired

[14]Lindly Beach, born 1800, died 1881.

when they got here. The 4 of November Jacob preached his trial sermon. The 19 he was ordained at Succasunna. Our crops were good. We had $150 worth of brooms. I hired a man for a month and the constable took him when he was cradling my rye. I got Gabriel to do my work. He kept school at Succasunna.

1818. Gabriel went in partnership with his old master at Morristown. They had 7 or 8 hands and drove work very well. Gabriel was married to Mary Muchmore and kept house. I carted 5 or 6 hundred rails from Morristown. I stoped at Gabriels for dinner sometimes. Our crops were very good this year. We had $160 worth of brooms and other crops beside. How thankful to God we ought to be. I was always an early riser. I arise at 4 oclock in summer and went to plowing. It was wholesome to smell of the ground when I ploughed. The smell of the ground before sunrise would cure fits of ague. Sometime I believe I am more healthy for rising and ploughing before sunrise. I always took delight in plowing.

1819 I hired a man for 7 months. Our main work was making fence. We got out posts and put up 300 lengths of new fence besides repairing the old fences. We raised a good deal of grain. Gabriel gave up his partnership with Mr. Tomkins. His wife was sick and he not very well. He gave up his work and went to keeping school. We raised $170 worth of broomcorn.

1820. Gabriel went on with his school in summer: in the fall he went south for his health and to keep school. He built a house and the wind blew it down when it was part done. Mrs. Condit died. Lydia Winans was out. She lived here 7½ years. A good girl she was. Sally Orsborn came here to live.

1821. Gabriel's wife went south to where he was to take care of him. He was very sick through the summer but came back in fall. A general time of sickness in this place with fever & ague. I was sick a long time from August to the end of the year. It left me weak and infirm. I could do but little work. Willis had to do most of it. Sally Orsborn went away and Nancy Orsborn came here to live.

1822. I settled with Old Doctor Darcy.[16] The first time for more than thirty years. I owed him $5. My brother Pierson's wife died. The Rev. Aaron Condit was married to Sarah Conklin. Jacob was dismissed from Succasunna and moved to Bedford in New York state. Our crops are doing very well.

1823. I have not much to say this year. Our crops are good. Gabriel goes from place to place. He went as a missionary to Splitrock to teach a school. The society paid him in part.

1824 I bought me a young horse. My old one died. Gabriel went on with his school. He bought a piece of land and began to build a house. Willis is now of age. I gave up the work to him. I am old and infirm. I cannot do much. I can walk about and see to the fences and some other things and care for some things. William Hamilton in this neighborhood died. We built a new cow house. I hired about $200 of one and another sometime ago and paid a good deal of interest. I have paid it all off.

1825. Mrs. Hamilton moved away. John Woodruff moved here. I am glad of it. I get a great deal of good by talking with him on the subject of religion. My sister Betsey died. I bought another horse. Our old water hole dried up. We got Mr. Woodruff to clear it out. Our work went on very well. Since I began to keep house I have lost 10 cows and 10 young critters and more than 8 horses and 20 sheep. The new meetinghouse at Bottlehill was dedicated. My wife's twin brother died.

1826. We bought another horse and she died. Nancy Orsborn's mother died so her friends took her away from our house. Charlotte Douglas came to live with us. Another mare died. We had a hard thunder shower. It struck 4 times in the space of half a mile. It struck Daniel Sears cowhouse and burned it up and two trees in the woods. Mr. Condits house got a fire and like to have burned up. Elizabeth was taken sick and was sick 2 or 3 months.

1827. Mr. Condit was sick 4 months. Elizabeth was taken again and was sick 6 or 7 months. The wife of Rev. William

[16]Dr. John Darcy died February 13, 1822, age 62. He had a son, Dr. John S. Darcy, to whom reference is made under 1835.

Barton[15] died at her fathers (Mr. Condits) We built our wagon house. I think we should be thankful to God that our crops are good from year to year so that we can go on to build. We get our money from our crops of grain.

1826. Not much this year to tell of. We keep the farm going on well. The new bridge was built near Thomas Genings. The new bridge on the turnpike near the Hanover meetinghouse was built. I grow more lame and infirm. I desire to thank God that I can to meeting from Sabbath to Sabbath.

1829 We put a new roof on our house and weatherboarded it new. The new meetinghouse at Parsippany was dedicated. Our church sold the communion vessels and bought new ones and much better ones.

1830 Mr. Condit was laid up with St. Anthony's fire the 7th of February. He was laid up 9 months then was well enough to administer the sacrament. We had supplies from Presbytery. Mr. William Tobey came here. We hired him to preach for us 7 months. We put a new roof on the barn and repaired it some. We bought chesnut rails every year more or less to keep our fences in good order.

1831. Mr. W. Tobey was ordained over this people. We had a protracted meeting of 4 days. We had a snowstorm. It drifted the roads full so that it stoped the mail. The new meetinghouse at Orange was dedicated second church. We had 25 added to this church. Elizabeth went to Bedford and was taken sick. I went as far as New York. Mr. Condit gave his charge over this people. We had another protracted meeting.

1832. Elizabeth remained at Bedford sick. My brother Pierson died. We put a new roof on the cowhouse. The cholera was among us. Several died very suddenly and burried in the night. The new meetinghouse at Rockaway was dedicated. The dogs killed 8 or 10 sheep for us in one night.

1833. The new meetinghouse at Chatham was dedicated. Mr. Tobey was dismissed from this place. We hired Mr. John J. Slocum to preach for us a year. He preached 6 months and

[15]Hannah Maria Condit, born 1802, died 1827.

such a doctrine we got tired of him. He denied original sin and preached many other things that new measure men preach. He brought a new set of psalms books into the house of God and sold them on the Sabbath and our folk were foolish enough to buy them. This is new work for Hanover on the Sabbath. The presbytery met to ordain Mr. Slocum but would not ordain such a man, and he went off.—The Whippany people broke off from this congregation—We had a protracted meeting. It was something new to see thousands of stars falling to the ground. Some of them fell close to my field. Elizabeth came home from Bedford.

1834 We hired the Rev. Summer Manderville to preach a year for us. The new meetinghouse at Whippany was dedicated. The Cheapside people Broke off from us. James Winans came here to live.

1835. It has been the coldest weather we have had for a hundred years. In some places it was so cold the mercury froze and could not move. We had a parish meeting and concluded to take down the old meeting house and build a new one 40 by 60 feet. We built the new one this summer. We settled with Doctor John S. Darcy and paid him more than a $100 in cash getting a receipt in full. We hired Mr. Manderville to preach another year and built a shed by side the academy to hold our meetings in. Elizabeth went to Bedford. Willis was married to Betsey A. Woodruff on the 6th of October. On the 10th of December our new meetinghouse was dedicated. The first sabbath in the new house was sacrament day and we had a new measure man to preach. After the sermon he ordered all the members of the church to go into the aisle. The covenant was read and then they were taken in anew as it were. This I call new measures all out. Our family and some others did not go out of their seats.

1836. We hired Mr. Manderville for another year. We had a parish meeting. We had $1,000 signed which paid for all the meeting house which cost $5,000 and as nice a house as is going. Elizabeth went to Bedford again and was taken sick

there. The first of April is cold enough. The snow is a foot deep in the woods. Mrs. Youngs moved out of our backroom and Willis moved in and began to keep house. I was very sick. I thought it was my last sickness but through the mercy of God I soon got well again. I desire to be thankful that I can go to meeting the most of the sabbaths in the year. Charlotte Douglas went away. She was here nine and a half years. She was a good girl. This is a backward spring. The trees are late blossoming. The 15th of May and the rye ears are just coming out. We had 12 added to the church. Gabriel is like a missionary doing good. He goes six miles every sabbath to teach a sabbath school and attend a Bible class. Gabriel has a good many ups and downs beside many losses. He got his house and barn built and well set out and while he and his wife were gone to Newark on business a bad boy that lived with him it is supposed set his house on fire and burned it up and almost all that was in it. This is his greatest loss. He sold his place and moved down to Rockaway and bought a piece of land that had a brook of water running through it. It is fed by springs so he built a dam to do his turning by water. He built a house and a part of it is to do his turning in. The neighbors were very kind to him and helped him some to makeup his loss. A Mr. William Clark who preached at Whippany came here and preached the greatest new measure man that I have heard yet. He paced the pulpit backwards and forwards and thumped it till he split the pulpit board. He shook the bible so hard that if he had kept on a little longer we should have wanted a new one. He held the bible up as high as he could with his face to the wall and called for the angel Gabriel to come down. He worked so hard and raised his voice so high he went home and bled at the lungs and then went away and I and many others were glad of it. Mr. Woodbury preached some good old school sermons for us. Elizabeth was sick all winter and spring. She came home in summer and staid six weeks and went back again.

1837. Elizabeth was sick at Bedford all winter and spring. She came home in the summer was tired and almost doneover

but was pretty smart till December then she was taken down with consumption. She lingered along till spring. We hired Mr. Manderville for another year. Gabriel worked hard all summer and fall and got his house and barn done. We had 36 added to the church. We got the bell for the church and hung it. It weighed 850 pounds. It cost $300. John Woodruff died[17] a great loss to me and to the public. Mr. Campbell a sabbath-school agent addressed the ss scholars 130 in number a pretty sight indeed. The 27th of December It is fifty years since I was married. Half a century. There is not a man and woman in a thousand that lives together so long as we have. How thankful we ought to be for what the Lord has done for us. Elizabeth is lingering along yet how long she is to live we know not. Gabriel moved in his new house and went to work making his water wheel and other work. Dec. 27th Elizabeth had a very bad spell. We thought her dying.

1838. Elizabeth has spasms and grows weaker and weaker untill the 17th of March when she died verry easy and very happy aged 29 years. Mr. Condit preached her funeral sermon at the church from 1 Pet 2:7. There are not many who live and die so happy as Elizabeth. There are but a few so much like a christian as she. On the 18th of April Mr. Manderville was dismissed from this church. The 1st of June we went to see Gabriel's turning and sawing by water and were very well pleased with it. Mr. Condit preached for us sometimes. We had a number of ministers preach for us on trial untill the 24 of September we hired Mr. Charles Mills for 6 months for $300. Stephen Woodruff had four very good hogs bitten by a mad dog and three died. This had been the hottest and driest summer we have had for many years. Our crop of corn was good the other crops were cut short by the dry weather. After Mr. Manderville was dismissed he preached a farewell sermon which we did not like very well. He told us the panteloons and coat he had on were the same he wore when he came here which was 4 years. We all knew he had other clothes. There were a num-

[17]John Woodruff died August 5, 1837 in his sixty-sixth year.

ber of strangers here. They thought we did not support him which mortified our people very much. We all knew he had but very little when he came here and he carried away $500 worth. My son Willis had a daughter born the 8th of August. Her name is Elizabeth. This is the first grandchild I ever had that lived. She is a babe that I think much of and I hope she may live to grow up and be a blessing to us all. We lost another cow. We found her dead in the yard in the morning. The dogs killed two sheep for us. Gabriel is getting along very well with his new works. Jacob and his wife came to see us. Stephen Woodruff was married to Martha Ball.

1839 Mr. Condit sold his house which he had lived in 43 years and moved to Morristown. Mr. William Burton Force bought Mr. Condit's house and moved into it. Went to the western country to settle some business and taken sick and died there. Mrs. Youngs moved from Mr. Woodruff's to Caleb Ely's We had a powerful shower of rain and hail which lasted 15 to 20 minutes and covered the ground 2 or 3 inches deep some of the hailstones weighing 2 ounces. I never saw the ground so washed. It hurt the fruit and winter grain very much. In some places it broke almost all the glass out of windows. We hired Mr. Timothy Sidney Ward to preach for us 3 months. We made out a call for Mr. Ward which he accepted by our giving him $500 a year and his firewood. The presbytery met here and ordained and installed him over this people. We had a great August storm. The people built up the old stone pillars and put a new bridge on them near the church. The lightning struck a tree near our house and broke it very much. I made out to raise $50 this year to pay an old debt. My old horse died 20 years old or more. Willis bought him a horse for $50. We had a cold spell in November so cold that the river froze over. The hail cut our apples so that our hogs were but slim this year.

1840 Willis has another daughter. Her name is Mary. I was sick 5 weeks so that I did not go to meeting. Gabriel's wife died. Julia Green died. Our crops were very good except our

broom corn but half a crop. We had a sheep that had two lambs in a year. One in January and one in July. Jacob and Gabriel came to see me when I was sick. They had not seen each other for some years.

1841 My other old horse died. Willis bought a young mare. He gave $60 for her. Stephen Woodruff lost 2 horses. He bought two more. Mrs. Force had a new fence round her house and garden. Mother and I went to Morristown. This is a great year for fruit. We sold $25 worth of apples. A few of our folks found fault with Mr. Ward and drove him away the presbytery were called to dismiss him from this place. The 4 of July was the same this year as last. All the s.s. teachers and scholars about 160 in number were out on the sabbath and two gentlemen addressed them on temperance. Mr. Harrison the president of the United States died.[18] We hired Mr. John M. Johnson to preach for us months for $750 and his wood. The last of November we had a snow a foot deep it made good sledding for some days.

1842. We hired Mr. Johnson to preach threemonths for us for $125. We hired him to preach this year for the same he did last year. Mrs. Youngs moved out of Mr. Ely's house into the lower part of David Cooks new house.

1843. The parish bought a lot of about 3 acres and built a house and barn. We hired Mr. Johnson to preach for us a year and gave him $500 and fire wood and the use of the house barn and lot. Gabriel was married to Harriet Woodruff. Mrs. Woodruff moved to live with Gabriel. Mr. Johnson moved to the new house. This is a year of revival we had 50 added to this church.

1844 Mr. Youngs moved into the upper part of David Cook's house. Gabriel had a son born. His name is Samuel Newel. He is the first grandson I ever had. Willis had another daughter born and died at 6 weeks old. I grow more feeble and lame. I have not been down the road to see my sister in almost a year.

[18]William Henry Harrison died April 4, 1841, one month after being inaugurated as president.

I am pretty much shut up to the house. Mary Youngs went to Pittsburg to see her sister and was gone 3 months. Her mother came to live at Mr. Force while she was gone. We give Mr. Johnson $500 and firewood. He don't preach but once in the church on the sabbath and two sermons in other parts of the parish. Jacob and Mary came to see me and staid one night. We had a good crop of corn this year.

1845 Gabriel had his shop and tools burned. This year we give Mr. Johnson $500 the house barn and lot but no firewood. Mr. Johnson is a great preacher. He was instaled over this people. The parish sold their woodland for 11 or 12 hundred dollars. Mrs. Force was married and moved to Morristown. Gabriel hired his house out and bought a lot in Rockaway village built a new house. Gabriel's child died. Willis had a son born a fine boy he is. His name is Jacob. We have 7 Jacob Green's in our connection. Mr. Grandfather was Jacob. My father was Jacob. My nephew was Jacob. My cousin was Jacob. My son was Jacob. Willis son is Jacob.

1846. Mrs. Youngs moved out of David Cook's house and into Mr. Force's. She lays now in the room where she was born and perhaps she will die there. Gabriel had a son born. His name is John Calvin.[19]

[19]Inscription in Hanover Old Burying Ground: "In memory of Calvin Green who died February 3, 1847, in the 82nd year of his age." Also "Hannah Green, widow of Calvin Green, died July 13,1847, in her 79th year."

## BERGEN COUNTY'S COPPERHEAD

By Charles F. Capaldo, *Englewood*

During the Civil War period New Jersey had its share of "copperheads," the name reserved for those northerners who sympathized with the South. Some were more ebullient than others, stating their position in clear, unmistakable words and actions. One of the most rabid of all Jersey "copperheads" was

Eben Winton. As editor of the *Bergen County Democrat*, a small weekly printed in Hackensack, Winton injected into his editorials enough hate and bigotry to warrant a Congressional investigation if he were alive today.

Winton was a fire and brimstone type of journalist. A veteran of the newspaper game, he got his start in south Jersey. His early days are clouded by the mists of time. It was not until he turned up in Hackensack that he gained any notable prominence. Whether he grew too big for his surroundings or chance alone sent him north is not known. But in 1861 he turned up in Hackensack as partner to one C. C. Burr. The *Democrat* was the brainchild of Burr. New to the game and knowing little of the details essential to running a successful paper, Burr was glad to accept the experienced Winton as a partner. The paper was on the verge of failure at this time, but the injection of fresh funds and ideas provided by Winton held failure at bay. Less than a year passed when Burr withdrew leaving Winton to run the *Democrat* as he wished.

Before Burr sold his interest he had been known for his anti-Union sentiments. Winton, however, carried this to extremes and quickly became the epitome of anti-Union feeling. Vitriolic, and a firm believer in the Democratic party above all else. Winton made Burr look like a Sunday school teacher in comparison. Under Winton the *Democrat* became subject to strong Democratic party influence and showed an uncompromising partisanship for that party. Winton went so far as to admit he sought and followed advice of old and trusted party leaders.

To dispute the teachings of the Democratic party was political treason in the eyes of Winton. He was a died-in-the-wool Democrat, the party coming first, last and always. A firm believer in states rights over a centralized government, white supremacy and a rabid hater of anything Republican. Winton provided an interesting portrayal of a vociferous editor when journalism was having growing pains and this country was in the throes of the blackest period in its history. A perusal of the

*Democrat* from the years 1861 to 1868 is not only a study of Civil War journalism on a small paper, but also a study of Winton, who has been called the de facto founder of journalism in Bergen County.

The first issue of the *Bergen County Democrat and New Jersey State Register* to be printed in Hackensack appeared December 13, 1861, the previous eleven issues having been published in New York. The war already had been raging eight months and the First Battle of Bull Run and the Peninsula Campaign had resulted in Union reversals.

The December 13th issue contained the following statement prominently displayed on the first page: "*The Bergen County Democrat and New Jersey State Register* is published every Friday by Burr and Winton at their office near Earl Terhune's Store, Main Street, Hackensack at $2.00 per annum payable in advance. Advertising on reasonable terms. Yearly advertisers liberally dealt with. No subscriptions discontinued until all arrearages are paid except at option of the publishers."

The remainder of the first page was a solid mass of printed matter, most of it devoted to a story of unrequited love entitled "The Dark Painter and His Pupil." According to the leading editorial on page two the *Democrat* aimed to build up its circulation to give Bergen County a "good, sound, reliable Democratic paper."

Under "Slavery Statutes of the North" it was pointed out that whites in the North were forced into involuntary slavery by statutes involving vagrancy. Those apprehended on a vagrancy charge were forced to work six months without pay. The article claimed the vagrancy acts of the free states were the same as the slave acts of the Southern states. Furthermore, the article said that if the Negroes were set free they would be worse off than before because 800 out of 1,000 would be picked up on vagrancy charges and forced to work anyhow. "Abolitionism ruins white laborers by reducing wages and degrading the social position. Abolition means liberty for Sambo to starve and freeze in his filthy rags and for the white laborers to enjoy

the same blessing. Remember the Negro is not a white man!"

Burr and Winton were always quick to capitalize on the mistakes of the Republican administration. One of their biggest "plays" was given to the discussion of governmental frauds and deceptions practiced during Lincoln's first term. Another was the high cost of the war.

On January 10, 1862 under the title "$3,000,000 Per Day—Governmental Expense" the *Democrat* declared: "It makes a man's head swim to think of it. This is $1,182,454,000 a year. May the Lord have mercy upon our people." The writer pleaded the case of the unborn generations to follow, asking that the children not be left to pay the bill. "An honest and economic administration of the government would reduce our expenses a million a day."

Under the February 14th date the editors summarized: "A year of Lincoln. Think of the 4th of March and remember the curse of abolition was seated in the chair of state." Lincoln was further castigated for holding a party during war time where it was charged people ". . . . fiddle, dance, flirt, frolic and get drunk on costly wines at this dark and terrible hour of our national calamity."

With the March 28th issue Burr sold his interest in the *Democrat* to Winton. Perhaps Burr was motivated to this action partly by the hostile attitude shown by some of the people in that section to the editorial policy of the *Democrat*. At one time he narrowly escaped a severe beating by an enraged mob.

The *Democrat* was a conventional weekly paper. It contained six columns, each measuring 2 7/16 inches as compared to the 2 inch columns of today's average daily. The paper was 16 9/16 inches wide or slightly wider than the persent *Herald Tribune* and 22 3/8 inches in length as compared to a slightly longer *Tribune*.

The *Democrat* had little or no competition in the section during most of this period. People had to read it for its local news even though they might disagree with its editorial policy. They tolerated it because social announcements and news of the area

got a complete coverage. Even though its circulation seldom exceeded 1,500, it was able to continue financially on its advertising revenue. At one time 19 out of 25 columns contained advertisements.

The *Democrat* came up with a plan to end the war in its August 2nd issue. It claimed that the slave states only wanted to stay as they were without interference. By calling a truce for a period, it said, delegates from each state could devise methods of peaceful settlement. "Succeeding generations may witness a restoration of the Union. The present generation never will."

Winton branded as false accounts of Confederate army desertions and said he was sick of hearing about them. He wanted to know why Union troops always seemed to lose to superior forces when it was general knowledge that they outnumbered the Confederates.

Winton insisted Lincoln should not be re-elected. He wrote that Lincoln had prolonged the war "to collect the big army to re-elect him at the point of a bayonet," that he was a "doubled-eyed traitor to the Constitution" and that he had "sent armies to Florida and Louisiana to make new states to help his re-election at a cost of 20,000 lives."

On July 22nd Winton printed an article which he was later to regret. It said: "500,000 more victims to be drained from industry, torn from home and family leaving them to beg and starve in order that the infernal Abolitionist crusade may still go on." This appeared under an announcement that 500,000 more men were needed for the Union army and was headed, "500,000 More Victims To Destroy Union."

With this editorial Winton left himself open for Federal prosecution. Two weeks later he printed an account of his arrest on a warrant from the United States Commissioner at Newark charging him with violating the 25th section of the Act of Congress entitled "An Act for Enrolling and Calling Out the National Forces." Today's counterpart of this is the Sedition Act. His trial came up on September 15th in the United States District Court at Newark. The week before he was to go on trial Winton censured the Republican administra-

tion for stifling free speech and claimed the Federal judges had no jurisdiction in his case because it was strictly a state matter. Appearing to be somewhat docile after the trial, he admitted in an editorial that he made out "unfavorably." Winton failed to comment further on his trial, but hinted the court had been prejudiced against him.

Winton could not stop Lincoln's re-election, but he did his best to discredit it by claiming through his editorials that it had been a "gigantic swindle" since Republican soldiers had been allowed to vote while Democrats had not. Winton claimed further that Democratic ballots sent through the mail had been intercepted and in many cases Democratic soldiers had been given extra duty to keep them in camp and away from the polls.

Winton's anti-Lincoln editorials ceased with the issue of April 21, 1865 after President Lincoln's assassination. The editorial page and page three were bordered in heavy black column rules and the story, with a complete account of the assassination reprinted from the New York News, was titled "The Murder of the President." Winton expressed his feelings in these words: "There is no language to express our horror and detestation of the unfortunate wretch who in consummation of such a deed acquires so unenviable a notoriety."

With the May 5th issue all war news ceased to appear, but from time to time Winton urged the Federal government to extend clemency to the South, the "fallen foe." From this time on all Abolitionists were referred to as "tories" and the Republican party was called the "Shoddy" party.

In the May 26th issue Winton defined his position on Negro suffrage: "I am opposed to miscegenation or amalgamation of the white and black races, social equality or free and unrestrained social intercourse between the two races, political equality which would lead to social and that to miscegenation. The Almighty created two races setting up not only barriers of color but also mental and physical differences. We hold that this government of ours was created by white men, for the benefit of white men and it therefore is a white man's government. To the blacks we should afford all protection of Civil

law, treat them kindly and well, so long as they behave themselves. That is all."

Winton turned from national affairs to the discussion of the state political campaign in the issue of July 28th. Announcing that the Republican nomination for Governor, Marcus L. Ward, had been defeated once by Joel Parker, then Governor, Winton printed the following: "Personally Mr. Ward is a very amiable sort of gentleman, but it may not be generally known that for three or four years past his friends have been pained to notice more or less symptoms of insanity in him." As far could be learned, Winton was not sued for libel.

With the passing of years old hatreds gradually were forgotten and saner heads prevailed. There was no room for the bitter, biased editor in the section of north Jersey where he held sway for so long. Perhaps the people, Republicans and Democrats as well, recognized the need for a united people, free from strife and the poisonous infusion of one party's doctrine into their homes every week in the form of the *Democrat*. Perhaps Winton himself grew tired of waging a losing battle and realized that his anti-Negro states rights opinions were all wrong.

In any event the embittered editor and publisher passed the paper on to his son to operate in 1869 and dropped out of sight for a few years. He appeared briefly again as editor of the *Englewood Times*, the first paper of Englewood, a town near Hackensack. Winton kept it strictly on a local level, never using it as a medium for national politics of one party origin. The paper lasted only two years. North Jersey's most prominent "copperhead" editor subsequently passed out of the public eye.

In the meantime his son was improving the *Democrat* and breaking it away from party control. It soon became a good local paper, free from biased influences. Perhaps there were those who missed Winton's rough and ready style, his hate inspired writings, but for the most part Bergen County, like the rest of the state and nation, was busy rebuilding and striving for a reunited America.

# THE EARLY CAMPAIGNS IN NORTH CAROLINA AS SEEN THROUGH THE EYES OF A NEW JERSEY SOLDIER

(Private Edmund J. Cleveland,
Co. K, Ninth New Jersey Volunteers)

## PART III

June 6, 1863 — September 7, 1863

Edited by Edmund J. Cleveland, Jr.

### SATURDAY, JUNE 6, 1863

The "grand rounds" visited my post at 4:00 a.m. Countersign, "James Island." After I had gone on guard last evening, a train of cars went at lightning speed toward Morehead. It bore the baggage of the 44th Mass. who are on their way home. The boys of the 23rd Mass., supposing it was for their regiment, cheered noisily. This morning a long train bearing the members of the 44th passed our camp. The train did not stop until it reached Morehead. Cox, the postmaster, walked from there with our mail. I received a huge envelope. At first I thought it contained a commission, but on opening it, I discovered it was from P.M.W., and contained several gifts.

Co. A escorted the regimental colors at dress parade. Lately there have been inscribed upon the following legends in large gilt letters. "Roanoke Island February 7, 1862"—"New Bern March 14, 1862"—Fort Macon April 25, 1862"—South West Creek December 13, 1862"—Kinston December 14, 1862"—"White Hall December 16, 1862"—"Goldsboro - December 17, 1862." Co. K escorted the colors back to headquarters.

The boys have been engaged in playing a new game—"Muckles." We learned it in the guard-house yesterday.

### SUNDAY, JUNE 7, 1863

At roll call last night Lt. Townley announced that he would willingly treat to ale, the tent which the Doctor at inspection should declare was in the best order.

Before the inspection Clark and I strolled to the woods where

we picked some fragrant magnolias, and other flowers. When the Doctor made his inspection tour, he seemed much pleased with our perfumed domicile. After he had completed "K Row," Lt. Townley told us that we had taken the palm and would get the ale.

MONDAY, JUNE 8, 1863

The "Fort Boys" say that Gen. Spinola staked out breastworks today to run from the sound to the fort.

TUESDAY, JUNE 9, 1863

Lt. Appleget of Co. H captured a huge alligator, ten feet long. I saw the reptile lying by the Surgeon's tent. A large crowd was gathered around the creature. It was shot through the eye.

Bill Downs read to us from some "Dime Novels" which were sent up from New Bern by Van Arsdale for our entertainment. They will help break the monotony of camp life.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10, 1863

Per order of General Spinola, read at dress parade, only one man is to be absent on pass daily.

There are a number of foxes in camp. Lt. Townley has one of them. They are cunning little creatures.

THURSDAY, JUNE 11, 1863

On guard. I find the shades very convenient to keep the sun off. I think the officer of the guard over scrupulous, as he requires me to follow the relief clear around from my post which is only a few yards from the guard house.

The Third Mass. V.M. (Volunteer Militia) passed by camp this morning on their way home.

FRIDAY, JUNE 12, 1863

"Grand rounds" did not trouble us last night. Countersign "Pensacola." After being relieved, I polished my brasses, buttons and equipment. The K. detail discovering what I was doing, followed my example, as did others of the old guard.

The ones selected for passes today were, by no means, the cleanest of the lot.

SATURDAY, JUNE 13, 1863

Today I took my first lessons from Clark and Peer in "Sixty Six" and "Sheepshead." These two games are all the rage at present.

SUNDAY, JUNE 14, 1863

At 8:00 a.m. we polished up for inspection but a shower came in the nick of time to prevent our going out. It has rained the greater part of the day.

MONDAY, JUNE 15, 1863

A dull day. I have been occupied the entire time copying my diary.

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1863

On guard. I have been stationed on picket in a surf boat on the sound with Terrill, Tonkin, Carrigan and a corporal of Co. F. It was very easy duty. We lolled in the craft and have not worn our equipment. We were anchored 100 yards off shore with orders to stop any boat going up or down the sound. We have seen none as yet. We will have to stand only two hours apiece tonight.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1863

On coming ashore today, after being relieved, we were ordered to prepare for inspection at 9:00 a.m. Carrigan spoke to the corporal and the latter said that it was an order from the colonel. Despite regulation, which says a man coming from guard is allowed off until noon, we had to get ready. There was not time enough to clean up, and such looking brasses and shoes we had! We were inspected by an officer of the 81st N.Y. The inspection did not last long.

THURSDAY, JUNE 18, 1863

Lt. Col. Stewart made us perform "Secure Arms" an extra number of times at dress parade today. He did not seem at all pleased with our drilling. He spoke to the officers when they

marched from the center to him. I suppose we will be treated to company drill in a short time. What fools we privates are!

FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1863

At dress parade an order was read from Gen. Foster, stating, for sanitary reasons, no more military funerals will be held. The escort will be permitted to accompany the corpse, but there will be no band, nor salute fired over the grave.

A negro regiment is now encamped in New Bern. Their uniforms are like ours. Those whom I have seen look very well. Another negro regiment, the 56th Mass., is soon to come from that state.

SATURDAY, JUNE 20, 1863

At dress parade orders were read that Major Curlis—much to the regret of Gen. Spinola—is relieved of duty as Provost at Beaufort; that officers and men be allowed to wear straw hats with blue ribbons at fatigue drills and dress parade.

SUNDAY, JUNE 21, 1863

News of Lee's invasion of Pennsylvania has reached us. The state militia are all called out and many Nine Months' regiments of New Jersey volunteers have offered their services. The state militia of New York are also called out. I would like to be in Pennsylvania about this time.

MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1863

This forenoon another Nine Months' regiment passed our camp, over the railroad, to Morehead on their way home.

TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1863

The guards' tent is certainly a good place to repose in, for we have a plentiful supply of bulrushes instead of quilly cedar boughs to rest our weary limbs upon.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24, 1863

A sentinel has been put in the guard house by Capt. Kissam, Co. D., officer of the day, for being caught sitting down on his post.

This afternoon I took a stroll with Ed Swain. We passed through a field where corn stalks were higher than my head. We gathered some May flowers and pressed them later.

The "paw paw" is not ripe until autumn. It is a light oval ball, full of seeds, and when it is ripe has an agreeable flavour. It grows on a bush about two feet high.

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1863

Immediately after breakfast, we received orders to hold ourselves in readiness to leave any moment. We, accordingly, "have held ourselves in readiness" ever since, but no train has yet come. No detail today for the fort. Three of the regular detail have been indulging so freely in hoarded up "spiritual rations," as to send to the winds whatever common sense they possessed. They have been exciting our merriment all the morning.

EVENING

It rained all the morning but cleared up later. The happy trio are again resuscitated. They are much surprised and amused by the account of their morning's adventures.

Some think we will leave camp tonight.

BARRACKS IN NEW BERN, FRIDAY, JUNE 26, 1863

As soon as the tents were down, the boys of Tents 1 and 2 stuffed an old uniform with straw, pinned buff shoulder straps on the shoulders, stuck a bottle in his breast and some folded papers in his belt and then hoisted him to a pole in the centre of tent ground. He looked like Gen. Spinola and delighted the whole camp. This afternoon other effigies were set up to guard the desolate camp. One impersonated the officer of the day.

A negro regiment is now in Camp Reno. The train stopped there and let off a company of the 23rd Mass. They are to be stationed at Fort Spinola, beyond the negro camp. All around the place were colored sentries, who eyed us sharply. A squad of five, a drum major, corporal and three drummers beat three rolls as we passed by. The boys laughed and halooed at them. I

hope the negroes prove good soldiers and do honor to the flag which flies over their camp.

After halting near the depot a short time, we marched to our present quarters, the barracks formerly occupied by the 44th Mass. Peer and I this afternoon took a stroll. On returning to camp we found that "grand mount" was going on. Now a row of sentries pens us in.

It is said that we are soon to go to Virginia. Others say that we are headed for Washington, North Carolina, Bachelor's Creek, Fortress Monroe, Va., or to do provost duty at New Bern. I don't know who is right but I am sure that we will not stay long in our present pleasant quarters.

There is a rumor afloat that Lee is advancing with different columns on Washington, D.C., Harrisburg and Philadelphia.

Gen. Foster left for Washington today, leaving General Heckman in command here.

SATURDAY, JUNE 27, 1863

A few minutes to prepare for picket with one day's rations. I shall get off as soon as I get dinner.

SUNDAY, JUNE 28, 1863

We pickets reported to the Sergt. near the Colonel's quarters. He directed us to proceed to a railroad bridge, about a mile off, to relieve a squad of the 158th N.Y. The duty was very easy. The "grand rounds" came mounted at 9:00 p.m. They gave the sergeant precise instructions. We were serenaded all night by the owls, toads and buzzing mosquitoes.

This morning I took a stroll after blackberries and quickly gathered a cap full. Peer and I will have them for our supper.

The news is that Lee is fortifying himself at Chambersburg, Pa., and that we have a six months' army intrenching at Harrisburg.

MONDAY, JUNE 29, 1863

We had company drill after grand mount this morning. After drill Peer and I, under some difficulties, washed our clothes in the Neuse River.

TUESDAY, JUNE 30, 1863

Before we were hardly awake this morning, orders were given us to be in readiness for general inspection at 6:00 a.m., one hour after roll call. We were inspected by Lt. Col. Stewart. Capt. Ritter commanded the battalion.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 1, 1863

At dress parade today an order from the Colonel instructed us to be in readiness to march on Friday morning at sunrise in light marching order, with two days' cooked rations in our haversacks and three days' rations in the wagons.

The coming expedition is all the talk in camp. It is thought we are going toward Kinston or Blackwater. Our pickets beyond Bachelor's Creek have been much annoyed of late. Some say that a contraband brought to General Heckman the astounding intelligence that a force of 20,000 rebels is preparing to pounce upon us. The reason for the expedition is to find out the truth behind this rumor.

THURSDAY, JULY 2, 1863

Morning

I have just been detailed on picket. I suppose that we will start before I get another opportunity to write in this diary.

Evening

The boys are drawing coffee and dry sugar for the scout. We will start at sunrise tomorrow.

FRIDAY, JULY 3, 1863

The officer of the day told the sergeant that he does not think that we pickets will go on the scout. The sergeant, thinking that he might get another man to stand guard in his place, so that he himself might go on the expedition, started for camp soon after the officer left. He learned that the first orders have been countermanded, postponing the start of the expedition until tomorrow morning.

All day long I have been preparing for the scout. I stuffed my haversack full of hard tack and meat so that it bulged. I

shall carry only a rubber blanket and a dry pair of stockings, beside my equipment. I have everything ready to put on at a moment's notice.

The wagons have taken our cooking utensils, etc. from the cook house. It will probably be several days before I write again in this book. Tomorrow is Independence Day It will be spent by us on a pedestrian picnic excursion, accompanied with the smell of gun powder.

SATURDAY, JULY 4, 1863

At rest near a small creek one mile from Pollocksville.

Independence Day! We were awakened by bugle at 3:00 a.m., and less than an hour later were drawn up in line, in light marching order, with haversacks stuffed with rations.

We marched through New Bern, passed the cemetery and joined the expedition on the outskirts of the town, one half mile from the Trent River.

For a wonder the Ninth has not the advance. A part of the 23rd Mass. has this post of honor, followed by Battery F 3rd N.Y. and then the Ninth New Jersey. A train of baggage wagons, ambulances, etc., follow us. What is in the extreme rear I do not know as I have not been back there.

We crossed over the Trent Road Bridge and, a short distance further on, a small bridge. Viewed the fortifications and heard salutes fired from Fort Thompson in honor of the day.

It is very hard marching. We followed the Pollocksville road, making several halts. The sun is very hot although our course went through a wood most of the way. We arrived here at noon.

After stacking arms near a cool grove, we ate our dinner, filled our canteens with water and washed our heads and feet. I found a soaked handkerchief on my head, a good shield against the suns' rays.

Here, across the stream, is a bridge, constructed by the cavalry unit which we are supporting.

We are to remain in Pollocksville for the night. The houses

are deserted and windowless. Peer and I have had a supper of ham and mustard on bread, with water flavored with lemon juice. We have not feasted but we devoured our rations with a vengeance.

I have just learned that a mail boat came in to New Bern just as we were going out. It brought news that Grant was driven from Vicksburg.

Purcell and several others who have just come up from the rear say that two men of the 27th Mass. and 23rd Mass. died on the road from drinking too much water when they were over-heated. Houghtaling of Co. K and several others are in the rear with blistered feet. We will probably rest for several hours. Gen. Heckman is in command.

It is said the cavalry in advance had a fight with Confederate Cavalry and drove them off.

Bivouac, Evening

We left our dinner camp at 6:00 p.m. and followed the Trenton Road making seven miles by fast marching. We are now bivouacked this side of Trenton. As soon as we halted parties went out and procured wood and water. I lugged some fence rails for a quarter of a mile although my feet were beginning to blister. We had a fine cup of coffee for supper. Our day's march of 19 miles was excellent for the time and season. I just learned that the men who were supposed to be dead in the road were resuscitated just as they were about to be buried.

## SUNDAY, JULY 5, 1863

Four Miles from Trenton

We were aroused by the bugles at 7:30 a.m. Peer and I immediately went to a brook, a quarter of a mile from camp. There we filled our canteens and washed our feet, soaping the inside of our stockings. We had not time to drink our coffee so we poured out the water and put it in our canteens.

Falling in at 8: a.m. we resumed our journey on the Trenton Road. We passed many well-cultivated fields, decked with green corn and fruit trees. At one point there was a meeting house,

all open for a Sabbath service. Opposite the building was a grove where seats were rigged up, I suppose for the Fourth of July service. Our regiment today has the advance. Rudy of the 81st N.Y. came up and I had a sociable chat with him.

After crossing the Trent River on a single board near the charred ruins of a mill we reached Trenton at 10:00 a.m. The artillery forded the stream.

Trenton is a small village. All we saw were the ruins of several brick houses, probably destroyed by our cavalry. A negro told us that "right smart" of our cavalry had passed through the place the night before last, capturing six of forty rebel cavalry with whom they had a skirmish.

Passing through the town we halted and stacked arms a mile the other side. I undertook to wash my feet but before I could complete the operation we were ordered to fall in. But I finished the washing, soaped my stockings and caught up with the company.

We halted a mile further up the road and ate some dinner. The color sergeant told us that there is a rebel battery two miles ahead of us, and that our cavalry is waiting for us to attack on the front. We proceeded onward, passing the ruins of a sawmill and crossing the river again. After standing awhile in water shoe deep we countermarched and are now reposing in a grove several miles from Trenton.

It is said that we will have to wait for the cavalry to return from Magnolia Villa, a village forty miles from Trenton on the railroad between Wilmington and Goldsboro.

The Colonel of the 81st N.Y. suffered sunstroke and he fell off his horse. He now lies in a handsome house near us. Nearby are a number of barns, a cotton press and negro shanties. Our baggage train is drawn up on the plantation. We passed many fine houses this morning. This is the best part of North Carolina I have seen.

Sunday Evening

Cos. F and B, with General Heckman and a staff made a reconnaissance up a right hand fork of the road and came to a

bridge over the Trent. On the opposite brink of the river they found a breast-work which civilians say was evacuated by the rebels two days ago. They destroyed the bridge and in doing so, two of Co. B's boys nearly lost their lives, by a beam giving way and dropping them into the water.

We will likely encamp here for the night. I heard Gen Heckman say he would go to Kinston, if he had rations enough.

Rations have been sent out, including a "snack" of whiskey. Our commissary got some kettles and we had a first-rate cup of coffee.

7:00 P. M.

Before we finished the coffee we were ordered to fall in. The regiment was marched to a field near Gen. Heckman's headquarters, a large white house. Here we will encamp for the night.

The boys have erected a small hen-coop arrangement of boards and brush for their night abodes. Peer and I were cutting brush when Lt. Townley informed us that we will go on picket tonight. We have relinquished our bed to Lt. Drake of Co. D.

7:45 P. M.

On guard. We are posted about 10 yards in the road in the advance. We have orders to halt everyone going along the road and to shoot anyone sneaking through the woods. We will be relieved at midnight.

Poultry yards are suffering. A party of stragglers has just passed by. Each one has a chicken.

Near our post are many fine trees—some of them 150 feet high, the most remarkable I have seen. Each has a tuft of branches at the apex. Today we have seen much standing timber.

## MONDAY, JULY 6, 1863

On Picket 6:30 A.M.

For a couple of hours I rested last night. Then I was aroused by Huey and stood until the relief came at 2:00 a.m.—two hours behind time. Countersign "White Hall."

When we returned to camp I bunked with G. Townley in a "Bough House." Higgins and Crowell brought coffee to us. Lt. Townley went to headquarters. When he returned he told us that he had an order to relieve us from picket, but he expected that we were not anxious to return to camp. This was in accord with the wishes of the boys. We immediately set out constructing "bough houses" (near the post). Sergt. Bryant, George Townley and I fixed up quite a leafy arrangement, large enough to accommodate four men.

General Heckman passed the post this morning, giving instructions not to allow anyone to pass and to arrest all comers-in. Before the order was issued many passed out and returned in due time with poultry, fruit, etc.

This morning a couple of artillery men on a foraging expedition up the road, which branches off near headquarters, were fired upon by rebel cavalrymen from a house. One of the artillery men was struck and thought killed. The rebels legged it into the woods, leaving their horses, a couple of grays. Some members of Co. K saw them come in.

A short time ago a section of Begler's Battery, accompanied by the 23rd Mass. went up the same road. Just before dinner we heard five or six cannon reports coming from that direction. While this was going on our regiment was drawn up in line with the Colonel mounted at the head.

I learned this morning that the name of the owner of the plantation where our headquarters is located is Job Scott. He has been an officer in the rebel army for the past two years.

Last evening the Colonel, who went beyond the post on the road, seeing some of the boys getting water at a small stream, asked them if they had to come all that way to get water. They replied that they were on picket. "The color company on picket," he said, "They will put the color guard on next." We are probably on picket without the authority of the Colonel.

I went on guard at noon. Very strict orders. Rebel cavalrymen are said to be on this side of the Trent. Lt. Townley has just visited the post, giving orders to fall back in case of attack,

two men staying on the post until the last minute. All are on the look-out. Artillery is planted in the road between us and the camp. More reports of cannon were heard a few moments ago.

1:30 P. M.

George Townley, who has returned from camp with some medicine for Ross, sick on post, says that the Ninth with several pieces of artillery have gone, leaving behind only some ambulances. The baggage train has been drawn back to Trenton. George procured the medicine from the surgeon of the 81st N.Y.

The left hand road has been blockaded by trees felled by the pioneers. A couple of companies of skirmishers passed by a few moments ago. They are bound toward the Trent. The boys are stationed in an old negro shanty. We can still hear the artillery—both the report of the cannon and the burst of the shell—but farther off. It is said that our cavalry penetrated last night as far as Kinston. Maybe they have forced the rebs to retreat in our direction and we are to hold the enemy at bay.

7:00 P. M.

The boys today constructed a large bough house on the post. We have been lying in it all the afternoon, scarcely showing ourselves and keeping still. But no rebel or other human being has come within sight.

Hamler erected a formidable earthwork in the road, with five wooden cannon and a mortar behind it.

The boys who have just returned from the camp report that our cavalry are four miles the other side of the Trent. Rebels are between them and our force. A messenger from General Foster, escorted by a squadron of North Carolina Union Cavalry under the command of Captain Graham, who made a name for himself on the Kinston scout, arrived this afternoon.

While I write I hear the rumbling of wheels, the braying of mules and the neighing of horses. The artillery is returning. The cavalry has been heard from. They penetrated as far as

Raleigh, destroying bridges and railroad tracks, and capturing many horses and mules.

7:30 P. M.

Some of the boys who have just come with water saw at headquarters a part of the 3rd N.Y. Cavalry. Between their ranks were 21 rebel prisoners, most of whom were mounted but disarmed. Their horses were handsome animals. These men, it is said, were with the cavalry who attacked us yesterday. Among the prisoners is the clerk of the Adjutant General of the State. His coat sleeves are trimmed with gold lace.

Things look very encouraging. Our regiment and the cavalry are now nearly five miles away and we will escort the victorious soldiers. The train has already started for New Bern. It is thought that we will start before daylight. We have two wounded, one a bugler of Co. D and another man.

Lt. Townley has just visited the post, bringing whiskey. He said that the cavalry penetrated as far as McKinneysville, a few miles from Raleigh. They destroyed a sabre factory and other property.

We will probably march all night.

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1863

Bivouac 4:30 A.M.

At 9:30 p.m., Sergt. Bryant came to our post and told us to draw in, which we did. Before doing so we could hear the merry bugles of the cavalry. Sergt. Bryant left a letter for the rebs, attaching it to our bough house. Among other things he said that the house was made with a sabre bayonet (possessed by Kuntzen) captured at Kinston.

When we came to the right fork of the road we had to halt to let the 3rd N.Y. Artillery pass by. They had many captured horses. We stacked arms in the rear of Co. C which acted as color company in our absence. From Ben Gale I got a correct account of the day's doings. The report about an artillery man being shot by the rebel cavalry proved to be a fabrication. Two companies of the Ninth were placed on picket near the Trent

River, and four miles from the fork of the road. The rebels were on this side of the Trent with infantry, cavalry and artillery. They fired a couple of shells, one of which wounded the two of our regiment, mentioned above. As soon as our artillery opened they retreated over a bridge to the other side of the river. Our artillery engaged them while the Ninth deployed as skirmishers. While this was going on, our cavalry was fording the river at a place upstream.

Some officers of the 23rd Mass. were in the house near the river, eating dinner, when the rebel artillery put a shell through the house. The officers left in a hurry, leaving their swords to the enemy.

We started to the rear of the column at 10:00 p.m. Co. C was posted a distance behind the regiment as rear guard. At Trenton we were joined by the Provost Guard and a part of the 3rd N.Y. Cavalry. I learned from one of the latter that they did penetrate as far as McKinneysville and did destroy a sabre factory and also a lot of tobacco.

On the evening of July 4, they entered a house in which some rebel cavalrymen were having a jolly dance to the tune of a fiddle. They entered but said that they did not wish to interfere with the festivities, but reminded the rebs that they were their prisoners. Our cavalry then joined in the dancing and ended up matters by taking the rebs off with their horses. They had no skirmish at Trenton but gobbled up two pickets.

The boys were loaded down with captured trophies such as valuable watches, jewelry, etc. From a bank they took thousands of dollars in specie and Confederate currecy. They intercepted mails and captured a courier, having several letters with him. Ben Gale read one from a man in the rebel army to his mother. He requested her to send him a pair of pants in which he was in great need. The most interesting of their trophies were three secesh guidons.

At the ford, near Trenton, many fires were kindled to lighten our way. As on the way up, we crossed the river on a single board. This took much time. We marched steadily all

night, with the moon shining. We arrived here at 4:00 a.m.—the same camping ground we had, the first night out. Before halting, I fell out, filled Peer's canteen and mine with water, washed my face and feet, and soaped my stockings. Although I have had no sleep I think I am equal to march 16 miles to New Bern. Most of the boys are fast asleep. I have made coffee for Peer and myself. While the coffee was cooling I wrote this. I suppose we will march in a few moments, as the cavalry has already started.

11:00 A. M.

At Rest near Pollocksville

We started at 5:30 a.m. being in the centre of the column, as far as I can guess. Soon after daylight, the heat increased, and although we march slowly it became almost unbearable. We passed the place where we had dinner the first day. When we went over a bridge I thought it was time to cool off. So I fell out as there were only eight members of Co. K with the regiment. It was laughable to see how the men took to the woods along the road. I wet my head and filled my canteen.

A quarter of a mile farther on, I discovered the arms of the Ninth stacked with those of other regiments in an open space before a seminary building. Co. K has two stacks. Soon it started raining and I have taken refuge in the third story of the building where I am doing my writing.

This building is unfinished. The exterior is pleasing but the interior is bare. The lower story contains a number of school benches but there is not a door or a window sash. On the white paint of the two story porch are inscribed many names, most of them of soldiers of Massachusetts and New York regiments, who have been here on previous scouts. After one name is this sentence, "My compliments to all the fair daughters of Secessia and Dixie but defiance to traitors."

I hear that Gen. Heckman is ordered to report at New Bern at 5:00 p.m. The weather is cool and pleasant now and if "Old Sol" does not come out we will have an easy trip in.

When I was at the bridge, I saw one of four horses hitched

to an ambulance, loaded with commissioned officers and noncoms (who have a liking for the conveyances for the sick and wounded) slip down in a gulley beside the bridge. The poor animal would not help himself or be helped. But I suppose he is all right by this time.

## WEDNESDAY, JULY 8, 1863

### Barracks in New Bern

Yesterday we resumed our march at 11:30 a.m. About half way to New Bern it began to rain again and gradually became a down pour. We passed a clayey section of the country and the boys slipped and slided, some of them coming down with a splash into the water. We did not trouble to throw the rubber blankets over our shoulders and soon everyone was saturated. My feelings I cannot describe. I was deprived of every sensibility, except that of plodding on and trying to keep my place in the ranks.

As we neared New Bern I noted with surprise that it had not rained there. Then suddenly a shower broke over our heads. At 3:00 p.m. we halted and stacked arms and had coffee in a grove said to be five miles from the town. When we got under way it seemed twice the distance, as the Colonel favored us with long stretches and short stops. Everyone's nerves were stretched to their utmost tension.

The 27th Mass. double-quicked out a field and got ahead of us. But it did not do them any good for long before we reached the block-house on the Trent Road, over one half of the regiment as well as some of the Ninth were in the rear. On reaching the outskirts of the town, I noticed four colored soldiers, a sergeant and three privates, standing picket. They presented arms as we passed. I noticed also that the cavalry left several of their horses dead in the road.

On the other side of the Trent River a body of negroes were drilling. They performed their maneuvres in good style. We entered New Bern over the long railroad bridge and were met by a large crowd of negroes and soldiers at the farther end of the bridge. We reached the barracks at 7:00 p.m. The

Lt. Colonel ordered us to "march by file into line," "right wheel" and "open ranks" for inspection. The caps were removed from our rifles. Such a crowd of barefooted, ragtag soldiers I never saw before, and all tired out.

We found that three mails had arrived during our absence.

THURSDAY, JULY 9, 1863

I gave my rifle and accoutrements a good scouring. It was not an easy or agreeable task. My feet are so swollen that it is hard to wear shoes. The ankles are scarcely discernible.

Bob Wilkins has invited me to go down to choir practice at the Presbyterian Church this evening. Ebert is to play the organ. There will be eight voices in the choir.

FRIDAY, JULY 10, 1863

The choir meeting last evening was held at the regimental hospital instead of at the Church, as I anticipated. I did not attend.

Sergt. Bamford returned from furlough this evening, bringing the glorious news that Lee's army in Pennsylvania, with Generals Hill and Longstreet, was captured by Meade and that Vicksburg surrendered to Grant on July 4. 150,000 prisoners were taken on both of these victories.

(Note. This will be recognized as an enthusiastic but distorted report of the two most important Union victories in the war, up to this time—Gettysburg and Vicksburg.)

Early this evening I saw several boys of Co. A., headed by their Captain, rushing at double-quick for the river. It seems that one of their comrades was in the water, frantically calling for help. I am sorry to write that they did not get there in time and the man was drowned.

SATURDAY, JULY 11, 1863

The mail presented me with a Sunday "Mercury," containing an account of the Battle of Gettysburg. This same paper confirms the news of the surrender of Vicksburg with 18,000 prisoners.

This afternoon the funeral of the member of Co. A, drowned last evening was held. The chaplain was followed by a rough pine coffin with a corporal and eight privates. No music.

SUNDAY, JULY 12, 1863

Inspection at 6:30 a.m. Cannonading has been heard in the direction of Fort Anderson, on the other side of the Neuse. It is said that negro pickets have been driven in and the reports from the shelling of the woods.

Rumours of another scout were prevalent all day. Sure enough late in the afternoon we received orders to cook two days' rations and to have three days' supplies in the wagons. We have already received our rations of dry coffee and sugar. This is hard on blistered and swollen feet, but I shall go and stick it out as long as possible. Swansboro, it is said, is our destination and that Belger's Battery and the cavalry have preceded us. I shall carry the usual articles, taking pencil and paper to keep up my diary. In all probability, I shall not write again in this book until we return.

MONDAY, JULY 13, 1863

2:00 P.M. At rest for dinner, ¼ mile from Broad Creek

Reveille at 3:00 a.m. We formed regimental at 4:00 a.m. and marched to the railroad depot. After waiting for nearly an hour in the street, the 23rd Mass. and Ninth N.J. were placed on a train. We reached Newport Barracks at 9:30 a.m. and stacked arms. We waited for nearly two hours, until Gen. Heckman, commander of the expedition, came in on a train from Morehead. During the time I saw some interesting sights, including a passably good looking woman, whose head was decked with curls, and the extraordinary drilling of a company of the 12th N.Y. Cavalry who will accompany us. I saw a paper of the 10th, confirming the capture of Vicksburg.

Lt. Runyon commands Co. K. The column consists of the company of cavalry, two pieces of artillery, the 23rd Mass. and the Ninth N.J. We marched on the road to Swansboro. As it rained heavily the mud was knee deep nearly all the way.

Near Broad Creek was stationed on picket a company of the 98th N.Y. They arrived last night and today they built a corduroy bridge over the creek.

7:30 P.M. On Picket

The column has bivouacked a quarter of a mile from the plantation headquarters of Gen. Heckman and five miles from Swansboro. I am on picket, a half mile in advance. There are two posts, one at this point and another between here and the camp. Artillery is planted near the camp, raking the road and cavalry videttes are beyond us.

The camp is well situated in a grove, near the junction of two roads. While Peer and I were fixing up our bed, I was ordered on picket. When we went up the road we saw two or three rebel cavalrymen galloping across the fields. One of our cavalry went after them. Two men mounted on splendid horses were captured near the camp. I do not know whether or not these were the ones we saw.

Four of the six pickets are from Co. K. Carrigan has gone to camp for coffee. We will have to stand all night without sleeping. Capt. Hufty is officer of the day.

TUESDAY, JULY 14, 1863

On post, 5:00 A.M.

A cheerless time on guard, rain sometimes, mosquitoes all times. But we managed to get three hours sleep, by taking turns, as the officer of the day suggested. Countersign—"Fair Oaks." Campbell has gone to camp for coffee.

Dinner Camp, Cedar Point, 1:30 P. M.

We waited on picket post until the column came up and then fell in with the regiment. Lt. Runyon kindly gave me a sip of whiskey which was very acceptable as I did not have time to eat anything. We followed the road to Swansboro and are now resting in a cool grove close to the river opposite the town, and near a road leading into a plantation. Some of the houses of Swansboro can be seen in the distance. A few of the boys made

a charge on a water melon patch and brought away several of the half-ripened fruit which they eagerly devoured. I have been repairing my dilapidated bayonet sheath with a leather shoe string Sergt Williams gave me.

3:00 P. M.

Hoover and I have just returned from a short stroll. We visited the plantation. The principal house is octagon in shape and presents a neat appearance, the best looking place I have seen in North Carolina. There is a fine spring of cool water and a carefully cultivated garden of corn, beans and other vegetables. Some think we will remain here all night and we have rigged up shelters in the woods with our rubber blankets and weather boards torn off from a house across the road.

It is said that we are waiting for one of our gunboats to put in an appearance. We are to meet the cavalry and artillery who are coming by a different route, at Young's Cross Roads sixteen miles from here.

I laid down to get some rest this morning. When I awoke I found some fellow had piled a lot of fence rails and water melon rinds on top of me. I think I know the one who did it.

We received rations of beef, hard tack and coffee which are now being cooked for us in the camp kettles.

7:00 P. M.

Bivouac

We are now encamped on the grounds where we have been all day. Almost every couple have their shelter but Peer and I will sleep under only our rubber blankets.

Gen. Heckman has received a dispatch that Lee's army is completely demoralized. It is said that Scott, the Union sympathizer who brought Gen. Heckman this news, is on track of a secesh spy. He was in a buggy drawn by a handsome horse.

The name of the owner of this plantation is Hill and of the farmer, who cultivates it, Taylor. Almost all of us have straw to sleep on.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 15, 1863

Morning

A number of Co. B volunteered as a boat crew and have just started for Swansboro.

3:00 P. M.

Some of the boys have roasted some green corn. It is quite ripe. After eating off the kernels they pelted one another with the cobs.

I am writing this diary at that spring of delicious cool water near the "Big House" on Hill's plantation. The water bubbles up through a hollow log. A few minutes ago, I conversed with Luther Davis who is a clerk in the office of the Deputy Provost Marshal, Lt. McDougal of Co. H, in Morehead City. He says that the news of Lee's defeat is only a rumour. But Scott heard loud cheering as he was leaving Newport and a train which just arrived was decked with flags. So he supposed good news had arrived and that it was Lee's surrender.

A negro has been tied by his arms to a tree for using saucy language to a civilian.

Evening

The company of cavalry returned this evening. They scouted as far as Young's Cross Roads. They captured a few aged horses and saw only one enemy picket post.

The boat's crew of Co. B have returned. They sailed up to White Oak Creek several miles but could find no fording place for us. It is thought we will start back to the barracks to-morrow.

We have satisfied our appetites with several cups of scouse of our own manufacture. Our rations are nearly used up. Only mouldy crackers are left.

Peer and I have put up a good house to sleep in, with crutches and rubber blankets.

THURSDAY, JULY 16, 1863

2:00 P. M. Newport Barracks

We left camp at 5:00 a.m. From then on, the heat of the sun was overbearing. I was in the rear a short time but caught

up with the regiment when the column halted. Up to this time the Ninth closed the column, but before the halt ended we started before the 23rd Mass. were in line. It commenced raining but we went on through mud and water. We reached the barracks at 11:00 a.m., making a march of 18 miles in six hours. The cavalry reached here only a half hour ahead of us. We are waiting for the train to pull in.

From a paper of July 11 I learn that Grant has taken Vicksburg with 17,000 prisoners, including many major and brigadier generals and colonels among the number. All have been paroled and sent beyond the lines with three days' rations. Grant has left a garrison at Vicksburg and is now pressing Gen. Johnston. This news is encouraging but the report about Lee has not been confirmed.

FRIDAY, JULY 17, 1863

Barracks in New Bern

We left Newport Barracks at 5:00 p.m. and arrived in New Bern at dusk. A mail had arrived but unluckily I received no letters. The boys are busy cleaning their rifles. It is said that we are going on another scout to Hyde County. We will soon get used to scouting, I am sure.

There is news of the capture of Charleston by forces from Port Royal. It is said that the 10th Conn. and 24th Mass. were badly cut up in a charge on a battery on James Island. All the fortifications around Charleston are ours except Fort Sumter.

Evening

This afternoon a great report came. It said that we are to go to the Peninsula in Virginia and be placed under the command of Gen. Foster who has succeeded Gen. Dix. The boys do not seem to like the idea of leaving North Carolina. I do not know how much confidence to place in these rumors.

Another expedition is under way. Many transports laden with troops have gone up the Neuse.

SATURDAY, JULY 18, 1863

I spent the greater part of the day cleaning my rifle and accoutrements.

Hereafter, according to new postal regulations, we will have to pay five cents on newspapers which come unprepaid.

This evening important news came by papers of July 15. There has been a great riot in New York City, in resistance to the draft. Cannon planted in the streets. Many lives lost. There is a variety of sentiment among the boys about it. Some are in favor of the insurrectionists and some are of the opposite opinion. Mobism, I think, should always be punished.

Next Monday I hope to receive a goodly supply of greenbacks from the paymaster. Ebert has taken to the drum again. W. J. Doran is today acting corporal of the guard. He is well worthy of the permanent position.

SUNDAY, JULY 19, 1863

A large number of spectators viewed dress parade this evening.

MONDAY, JULY 20, 1863

The expedition that started last Friday returned this evening. I saw the steamer "Allison" come in laden with troops. We heard that they had a fight somewhere but we could not learn where. They lost three men but captured three pieces of artillery.

At dress parade this evening we were reviewed by a major who is supposed to be the mythical paymaster. 'Tis said we will get our "rocks" tomorrow.

TUESDAY, JULY 21, 1863

Detailed as guard supernumerary. A funny incident happened at guard mount. The officers of the day (Lt. Hopper, yesterday and Captain Kissam, today) were tardy in taking their positions. Even after the ceremony of forming the guard, they were not in their places. The adjutant, naturally supposing that these officers were behind him, ordered us to present arms but when the adjutant "'about faced" to salute the officers, they were not there to salute. Capt. Kissam and Lt. Hopper were straining every nerve to get to the places they ought to have occupied a half hour before, but reached there just too late. The

adjutant seemed much provoked and promptly marched the guard off to the guard house.

After company drill, Lt. Townley bought a paper of Cox and read some good news to the boys. Port Hudson, Miss., was taken by Banks on July 8, 17,000 prisoners, including some generals, were taken. Other news, not so good, was that there were draft riots in Newark and Orange, N.J. Charleston, S.C., was attacked but not taken.

I learned that the expedition which returned yesterday accomplished little. The report of an engagement was a fabrication.

It is said that we will be occupied this season making frequent scouts.

(*to be continued*)

## APPOINTMENT OF DIRECTOR

The Board of Trustees at their regular meeting on February 14, 1951, authorized the appointment of Alexander J. Wall, Jr., as Director of the Society. Readers of the Alexander "Survey," printed in the January *Proceedings*, will recall that the "first need" of the Society, in the opinion of Dr. Alexander, was a professional director. The Board of Trustees feels that in Mr. Wall they have secured a man whose abilities and experience richly qualify him to direct the expanding program of activities on which the Society is planning to embark.

Mr. Wall, who is the son of the former director of the New York Historical Society, was born in New York City and received his collegiate education at Columbia University. After a year's training course at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, he joined the staff of the New York Historical Society where he served as general assistant in the reading room and as museum curator. In 1939 he became supervisor of educational and public relations activities.

During World War II he served as a Captain with the Army Air Force and was an historical officer at Amarillo Army Air Field, Texas, and at Headquarters, Western Technical Training Command in Denver, Colorado.

Returning to the New York Historical Society in December, 1945, he was appointed assistant director in May, 1947.

Mr. Wall is the author of several articles and book reviews in the *New York Historical Society Quarterly* and in the *American Collector*. He is a member of the Grolier Club, New York State Historical Association, American Association of Museums, American Association for State and Local History, Early Americans Industries Association, Bibliographical Society of America, Special Libraries Association, and the New Jersey Historical Society.

Mr. Wall will assume his duties as Director on April 1, 1951. He will be generally responsible, under the Board of Trustees, for formulating and executing plans for furthering the broad objectives of the Society.

## NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL CONFERENCE

The New Jersey Historical Society will join with the Burlington County Historical Society in sponsoring a New Jersey Historical Conference in Burlington, New Jersey, on June 23, 1951.

Invitations to attend the Conference will be extended to all members of the New Jersey Historical Society and to members of the several county and local historical societies in the state.

The tentative program includes workshop discussions and historical papers in the morning, followed by an informal luncheon. In the afternoon there will be a general session devoted principally to short talks of general historical interest, after which there will be tours of the many historic places in old Burlington. A dinner in the evening with entertainment and

an address by an outstanding speaker, will conclude the day's activities.

The joint-committee in charge of preparing for the Conference is planning on a minimum attendance of three hundred persons. Within the next month you will receive further details regarding reservations and the complete program.

## GIFTS RELATING TO JACOB GREEN AND CALVIN GREEN

The Society announces with pleasure the acquisition by gift of four items of particular interest to Hanover and Morris County families. The gifts have been made by Mrs. Laura Green Dorer (Mrs. George Dorer) and her sister, Miss Emma J. Green, of West Caldwell, whose father, Jacob Green, was the grandson of Calvin Green and the great-grandson of the Rev. Jacob Green.

One of the gifts is the manuscript of "The Life of Calvin Green," published in this issue. It is not the original; it is not in Calvin Green's handwriting. It was apparently copied from the original, possibly by some member of the family.

Another item is the Bible used in the pulpit by the Rev. Jacob Green during his pastorate at Hanover. The title page is missing, but between the Old and the New Testament is a title page for the New Testament, bearing the imprint "Edinburgh: Printed by Alexander Kincaid His Majesty's Printer. MDCCLXIX." The book is bound in calf and is in excellent condition with the original binding intact.

A third item is "Calvin Green's Book," a calf bound journal in which Calvin Green kept in his own handwriting the records of the Hanover church which a secretary-treasurer-clerk of the congregation would keep. Starting with the year 1790 when his father died, and continuing through 1844 (he died in 1847, aged 82) he kept a record of the Biblical texts from which the

weekly sermons were preached, who preached them, who joined the church, who were dismissed, who died, the text of the funeral sermon, the money he paid for the church for minister's salary and other expenses, etc. As time went on, his entries included comments on the weather, with a wealth of genealogical material pertaining to the members of the community. It may prove to be that the genealogical data has already been published, but the book is valuable as confirming that data.

The fourth item is a copy printed in 1893 in Morristown of the marriages and baptisms at Hanover during the pastorate of Rev. Jacob Green and to the settlement of Rev. Aaron Condit, covering the years 1746 to 1796. This is not new to the Society, but constitutes an extra copy of this useful item of early Morris County genealogical history.

## WORK ON NEW JERSEY HISTORY IN PROGRESS

Samuel H. Popper, of 150 West 21st Street, New York 11, N.Y. is writing *"A Social and Economic History of Newark: 1870-1910"* as a doctoral thesis at the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, New York University.

## NEW MEMBERS

The following new members of the Society, not heretofore announced, are presented by the Membership Committee:

**Life Members**

Woodruff J. English, Summit
Edward Weston Hoyt, Montclair

**Institutional Members**

Bremer Broadcasting Company, WAAT, Newark
Central Railroad of New Jersey, Newark
Firemen's Insurance Company, Newark

The Evening News Publishing Company, Newark
The Prudential Insurance Company
of America, Newark
Charles Dallas Reach Co., Inc., Newark
George Sagan, South Orange.

**Sustaining Members**

Ludolf H. Conklin, Newark
New Brunswick Historical Society,
New Brunswick
Sylvester C. Smith, Jr., West Orange
Samuel Teiger, Newark.

**Contributing Members**

Richard R. Abeles, East Orange
W. Adams, Belleville
Eber R. Ale, Summit
A. S. Alexander, Bernardsville
Roy Ambrose, Paterson
F. J. Andre, Hartsdale, N.Y.
George B. Astley, Newark
Wolcott N. Baker, Princeton
Harvey M. Balter, Clifton
Thomas J. Barrett, Arlington
Miss Maggie Bartel, Plainfield
Joseph A. Baxter, Cranford
John L. Becker, Jr., Livingston
E. H. Behringer, South Orange
Thomas H. Benton, South Orange
Edward W. Berg, Maplewood
William D. Birch, Boonton
Robert K. Black, Montclair
A. H. Blanchet, Florham Park
Miss Josephine Bonomo, Glen Ridge
John A. Booth, Essex Fells
Frank Bowles, Newark
E. H. Brill, New Brunswick

Frank Briscoe, South Orange
Joseph Bruder, Newark
Mrs. William Bruschi, Springfield
Harry Burke, Belleville
Donald Bye, New York, N.Y.
Albert B. Caldwell, Cranford
Alvin R. Calman, East Orange
Arthur Calvin, Haddon Heights
Thomas Capstick, Montville
Leo P. Carlin, Newark
Millard Carnrick, Montclair
Miss Helen M. Carpenter, Trenton
Miss E. M. Carter, Paterson
Clifford P. Case, Rahway
Charles W. Caspar, Verona
Paul J. Christiansen, West Orange
J. W. Clark, Hot Springs, Ark.
David J. Connolly, Newark
Ross K. Cook, East Orange
Miss E. Lillian Coons, Montclair
Albert J. Corcoran, Gloucester City
A. Charles Corotis, Moorestown
Cranford Historical Society, Cranford
Wesley Frank Craven, Princeton
Dr. Dorothy Cross, Trenton
Herman Crystal, Newark
Arthur L. Davis, Maplewood
Roland J. Delfausse, Livingston
Mrs. Rial N. Denison, Daytona Beach, Fla.
Department of Conservation and Economic Development (Division of Administration) Trenton
Richard J. Donnelly, East Orange
Thomas S. Doughty, Ridgewood
George W. Douglass, Montclair
Winfield S. Downs, New York, N.Y.

A. Shurtleff Drew, Clifton
Dr. B. F. Driggers, Cranbury
Henry Dusenbury, Montclair
Miss Mayme Dwyer, New York, N.Y.
John J. Egan, Newark
Meyer C. Ellenstein, Newark
W. A. Ennis, Bloomfield
John L. Everhart, Linden
Fred Fairchild, Newark
J. H. Farnham, Short Hills
Carl A. Felt, Madison
Mrs. W. E. Fitzpatrick, Cape May Courthouse
Stewart J. Fleming, Nutley
Miss Mary Flynn, Long Valley
John J. Ford, Jr., Hicksville, N.Y.
Lloyd E. Foster, Newark
N. R. Foster, Cranford
Roland E. Fountain, Maplewood
Roy Frederick, Ridgewood
C. Gabrielsen, Mountain Lakes
Delmar Y. Gardner, Plainfield
Jacob J. Geiger, Manasquan
Miss Marjorie Gibson, Bloomfield
Walter Goldberg, Newark
Bernard Goldsmith, Matawan
Mason W. Gross, New Brunswick
Leonard P. Groves, West Orange
J. Snowden Haines, Burlington
Charles Handler, Newark
James A. Hands, Rutherford
C. Colburn Hardy, East Orange
Joseph Harrington, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Alexander Harris, Newark
Robert F. Heald, Nutley
Russell Hickey, Ridgewood
Daniel G. Hoffman, Philadelphia, Pa.

Edgar F. Hoffman, Maplewood
William Holcombe, Trenton
Raymond B. Holtz, Montclair
Mrs. John C. Hover, Short Hills
Dr. Lee W. Hughes, Newark
William A. Hughes, South Orange
Gilbert L. Hunsinger, Bloomfield
Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, Somerville
Peter Iorio, Maplewood
Joel R. Jacobson, Union
Donald M. Karshmer, Highland Park
Robert W. Kean, Livingston
Leo Keefe, Short Hills
John B. Keenan, Newark
Walter L. Kidde, Montclair
Edward V. Kilduff, Jackson Heights, N.Y.
Edward Kirk, East Orange
Robert M. Krementz, Morristown
Walter M. Krementz, Jr., Morristown
Henry Kritzmacher, East Orange
Howard A. Krumwiede, Highland Park
Ralph R. Layte, Westfield
John J. Lee, Orange
Harold Lessersohn, River Edge
Albert Lindholm, Upper Montclair
Clifford Lindholm, Montclair
Joseph J. Litvany, Glen Ridge
William M. Litvany, Bloomfield
R. R. Lounsbury, South Orange
Richard Lum, Chatham
J. Howard McAllister, Bridgeton
Miss Marge McCormick, Orange
Charles J. McDermott, Madison
Dr. Clymont MacArthur, Newark
Philip H. Marfuggi, Maplewood
M. B. Markland, Atlantic City

Mrs. Irene Marshall, Orange
Henry L. Marzell, Elizabeth
T. E. Mason, Westfield
C. W. Mentzendorff, Montclair
Robert B. Meyner, Phillipsburg
Andrew P. Monroe, Short Hills
John Montague, Bloomfield
Stephen J. Moran, Newark
Wallace S. Moreland, Highland Park
George R. Morrison, New Brunswick
Gus O. Mortenson, South Orange
Harold N. Munger, Jr., New Brunswick
M. K. M. Murphy, Rutherford
Ransom E. Noble, Brooklyn, N.Y.
Nutley Historical Society, Nutley
Hubert F. O'Brien, South Orange
Ocean County Bureau of Publicity, Toms River
Mrs. E. B. O'Donnell, East Orange
Edward J. O'Mara, Jersey City
Rudolf Pabst, South Orange
Alfred J. Peer, Short Hills
Herman Pekarsky, Newark
James Peters, West Orange
John A. Peterson, Jr., New Brunswick
Dr. Alfred G. Petrie, Lambertville
Mrs. Judida Pettie, Englishtown
Robert J. Powderly, Maplewood
Charles R. Powell, Pennington
Walter R. Pruden, Summit
Thomas F. Quinlan, Verona
E. J. Rabidoux, East Orange
H. Clay Reed, Newark, Delaware
John B. Rees, Westport, Conn.
H. S. Reichenstein, Newark
Gabriel Rich, West Orange
Robert C. Ring, Newark

A. E. Robichaud, Glen Ridge
Arthur R. Robinson, Mendham
Jay Rumney, South Orange
John F. Sanders, West Orange
Ernest Santola, West Orange
F. Morris Sayre, Montclair
Mrs. Harry P. Schaub, Summit
Eric von Dicke Schweser, Rochelle Park
Charles Scully, Allendale
Bernard M. Shanley, Newark
Leonard Shiman, Newark
Nathan Shoehalter, Maplewood
Roy Simpson, Paterson
George Sizemore, Rahway
Glenn W. Smith, Madison
Mrs. H. Stacy Smith, East Orange
Joseph Sokol, Newark
Frank R. Southard, Essex Falls
George P. Spear, Jr., Passaic
William D. Staab, Essex Falls
Harry Steiner, Orange
Miss Sherry Stone, Irvington
Rev. Walter H. Stowe, New Brunswick
Max B. Stuart, Fairlawn
Leonard A. Sweney, East Orange
John S. Thompson, Glen Ridge
S. W. Toole, Asbury Park
Harry Towe, Tenafly
Lee Tracy, Camden
Paul L. Troast, Clifton
Jacob L. Trobe, South Orange
Charles F. Ullrich, Maplewood
Howard Van Buskirk, Rahway
William T. Vanderlipp, North Caldwell
H. B. Van Dorn, Maplewood
Clifford H. Verville, Jr., Deal

Ralph A. Villani, Newark
John J. Vohden, Jr., Union
A. L. Vreeland, East Orange
Alexander J. Wall, Jr., Lynbrook, N.Y.
Fred Walsh, Swoope, Va.
Dr. William R. Ward, Jr., Newark
Wendell K. Webber, Caldwell
Henry Weber, Linden
Henry Weber, Union
Harry B. Weise, Highland Park
Lieut. Arthur Weller, Newark
Arthur R. Wendell, Summit
Dr. L. C. West, Princeton
Miss Helen A. West, Hamilton Square
Andrew T. White, Morristown
Gustav B. Whitehead, Summit
James Whittaker, Paterson
Carl M. Williams, Philadelphia, Pa.
Donald R. Williams, Gladstone
Patric L. Williams, New Brunswick
Harold F. Wilson, Glassboro
Dr. John R. Wittekind, Morrisville, Pa.
Philip H. Woodcock, Nutley
Brig. Arthur Woodruff, Bloomfield
John W. Woodruff, Trenton
Clyde A. Zukswert, Florham Park
John Zulauf, Clifton

## BOOK NOTICES

HISTORY WRITTEN WITH PICK AND SHOVEL. By William Louis Calver and Reginald Pelham Bolton. Introduction by Richard J. Koke. Compiled and indexed by Roberta Leighton. (Published by the New York Historical Society, New York, 1950. xiii, 320. 278 illustrations. $3.50.)

A highly interesting and informative work on the durable remnants that history leaves behind, buttons, coins, weapons, shot, porcelain, pottery, glass and buckles, from which history can be reconstructed. Identifies and illustrates scores of military buttons, American, British, French, and Hessian, of bone, wood, pewter silver, brass, and copper. Gives evidence of what regiments were involved in action at a certain location. Describes sites and forts on Manhattan and its surrounding territory. A book of interest to both the student and the casual reader.

NEWARK: MUNICIPAL YEAR BOOK 1949-1950. Published by the Board of Commissioners of the City of Newark. 100. paper covers.

Prepared for the residents of Newark and particularly for the children of the Newark schools as an explanation of the function of the various bureaus and divisions of the city government. A brief history of early education in Newark is also included. Generously illustrated, it gives a clear picture for today's information and tomorrow's reference.

FRANKLIN, JOHNATHAN WILLIAMS AND WILLIAM PITT: A LETTER OF JANUARY 21, 1775. By Bernhard Knollenberg, |Indiana University Library Publications No. 1. Bloomington, Indiana, 1949. Paper, 24, $1.00.)

A letter written by Johnathan Williams, a great nephew of Benjamin Franklin, at the age of twenty-four, to an unnamed correspondent, reporting a crucial moment in British and American history—the debate and rejection by the House of Lords of William Pitt's motion to withdraw the British troops from Boston. Presented with historical background and annotations. One of a series of publications by Indiana University designed to make better known to students the source materials in the university library.

JOHN HEPBURN AND HIS BOOK AGAINST SLAVERY: 1715. By Henry J. Cadbury. A reprint from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April 1949. (Published by the Society, Worcester, Mass., 1949. Paper, 72.)

A study of particular interest to Jerseyans of "an obscure East Jersey predecessor of [John Woolman's] in the cause of the oppressed slave." Presents a personal history of Hepburn from his arrival in Perth Amboy about 1684 as a tailor, an indentured servant of the Scotch proprietors, his residence at Cheesequake and Freehold, to his old age at Freehold when his son, in a will in 1744 makes provision for his father. The value of the reprint is in the facsimile reproduction of *"The American Defence of the Christian Golden Rule, or an Essay to prove the Unlawfulness of Making Slaves of Men"* (by him who Loves the Freedom of the Souls and Bodies of All Men, John Hepburn. Printed in the Year 1715.) This is a ninety-four page octavo book, but copies at the British Museum and the Boston Public Library (the latter lacking the title page and text pages after page 40,) are perhaps the only ones in existance.

In 1937 the author, Mr. Cadbury, had written about John Hepburn, "nothing is known about him and it is really only circumstantial evidence that makes us regard him as a Friend." Mr. Cadbury now presents the results of his further research.

Hepburn's preface emphasizes the scarcity of antislavery writings and the apparent unwillingness of authors to appear in print against the custom. In fact, only two other antislavery pieces are known to have appeared in print before 1729. Hepburn writes "this thirty years I have been in America this practice has been carried on in almost profound silence . . . I have lain dormant above this thirty years . . . I was silent so long because I waited for my betters to undertake the works; and if any had appeared in this work, it is like I had been silent still . . . But the most

of all those writings (earlier publications on slavery) I doubt are destroyed by negro masters; that the reader will find them almost as scarce to be found as the Phenix egg."

The American Antiquarian Society has made a real contribution to historical scholarship in making this scarce work available.

CHARLESTON'S HISTORIC HOUSES. Published and Sponsored by Historic Charleston Foundation, 1950, for its third annual tours. (Paper, 69.)

The tours are held each year during the last two weeks in March and the first two weeks in April. Twenty-one private homes of old Charleston are opened for conducted tours by hostesses. This is a handbook for these tours, with excellent illustrations, both interior and exterior, of the houses to be visited and with a thumb nail sketch of the history behind each building. The charm of old Charleston is widely known. It is well presented here.

## DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Mrs. Stuart Atha, Stoney Point, N.Y.: Four letters addressed to Charles W. Tyler, Montrose, Pa., from a friend in West Point, Mo. 1855-1861.

Roger Sherman Boardman, Bloomfield, N.J.: His book: *Roger Sherman, Signer and Statesman.* Univ. of Penn. Press. 1938.

Rev. John Y. Broek, D.D., Plainfield, N.J.: Printed copy of his address *A Memorable Log House.* Delivered at Buck Hill Falls, Pa. May 20, 1950.

David I. Casto, Norristown, Pa.: Bible records of the Casto family.

W. L. Coulter, Washington, D.C.: *Westbrook Family History.* Vol. I.

John J. DeMott, Arlington, N.J.: *New Brunswick High School Advocate,* May 1898, Commencement No. 1898; Large collection of pamphlets, clippings, pictures, etc.

James S. Dennis, Bennington, Vt., *Newark Directory,* 1841-42.

Mrs. George Dorer and Miss Emma J. Green, West Caldwell, N.J.: Old record book of Hanover Church, 1790-1844; *Church Members, Marriages and Baptisms, at Hanover, Morris Co., N.J. . . .* 1746-1796; Pulpit Bible used by Rev. Jacob Green at Hanover Church; Copy of Calvin Green's diary supposed to be copied by his granddaughter.

J. Briggs Felton, Manchester, N.H.: Two documents: Appointment of Frank O. Briggs as Treasurer of New Jersey; Certification of Frank O. Briggs as a member of the United States Senate from New Jersey.

Mrs. Frederick Frelinghuysen, Holmdel, N.J.: *The Lace Book,* by N. Hudson Moore, 1937.

Mrs. Joseph S. Frelinghuysen, Far Hills, N.J.: *American Silversmiths and their Marks III,* by Stephen G. C. Ensco, 1948.

James A. Hands, Rutherford, N.J.: *The History of Rutherford the Region of the Boiling Spring, 1650-1900.* Pictorial map, designed and published by Mr. Hands.

Charles W. Heins, Ridgefield Park, N.J.: Two bound volumes of *The Phoenix,* official organ of the United Amateur Press Alumni Association. April 1942-Jan. 1951, vol. 1, no. 1-vol. 10, no. 3.

Herbert B. Howe, Mt. Kisco, N.Y.: His brochure: *Major Bezaleel Howe,* 1750-1825. *A Biography and Genealogy.* 1950.

Mrs. W. H. Howell, Islip, L.I.: Collection of automobile road maps, 1905-1908.

Raymond F. Hughes, Cincinnati, Ohio: *Hughes Family of Cape May County, New Jersey,* 1650-1950. Priv. print. 1950.

Hugh A. Imlay, Zanesville, Ohio: The Y Bridge City. The

Story of Zanesville and Muskingum County, Ohio, by Morris F. Schneider. 1950.

William E. Lewis, Jr., West Orange, N.J.: *New American Cyclopedia,* New York 1866; 16 vols.: *A Popular Cyclopedia of History Ancient and Modern,* Boston, 1851; *History of the Great Republic Considered from a Christian Stand-point,* New York, 1868.

National Amateur Press Association, A Collection of amateur newspapers. 1951.

William H. P. Oliver, Morristown, N.J.: *A Brief Account of the American Ancestors and some of the Descendants of William Henry Imlay of Hartford, Conn.* 1780-1858.

Miss Mary Philbrook, Point Pleasant, N.J.: *A Genealogy of the Philbrick-Philbrook Families. . .* Thomas Philbrick, 1583-1667, by Rev. Jacob Chapman, 1886; Notes on the Debough, DeBow families.

Henry W. Pilch, Morristown, *The Life of George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the American Forces,* by John Marshall, 1804-07.

Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J.: *Julian P. Boyd,* a Biographical Record compiled and offered by his friends on the occasion of his tenth anniversary as Librarian of Princeton University. 1950.

Morris H. Saffron, M.D., Passaic, N.J.: Bible records of the Searing-Merritt family.

Short Hills Chapter, D.A.R., Short Hills, N.J.: *Neal Family,* compiled by Emma E. (Neal) Brigham. 1938.

A. L. Snyder, Stroudsburg, Pa.: *Westminister Question Book,* 1881, used by Presbyterian Sunday School at Knowlton, N.J.

Miss Laura M. Sydenham, Plainfield, N.J.: Collection of historic newspapers clippings.

Think Magazine, New York: Its publication: *Diary of United States' Participation in World War II.* 1950.

Virginia State Library, Richmond, Va.: Aerial Gunner from

Virginia. The Letters of Don Moody to his Family during 1944. Ed. by William E. Humphill. 1950.

Woman's Branch: *Descendants of the Jersey Settlers,* Kingston, Adams County, Miss.

## DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM

Mrs. William F. Hoehl, East Northfield, Mass.: Doll's dress belonging to the late Mrs. Frank Headly of Morristown.

Miss Jane J. Little, Orange, N.J.: Calash bonnet which belonged to her mother Julia Bloomfield Littell.

Mrs. Stanley M. Perrine, Bloomfield, N.J.: Collection of paper currency, 1860.

Henry W. Pilch, Morristown, N.J.: Collection of Christmas cards sent by the late Hon. Thomas Raymond, of Newark, N.J. 1918-1926.

William L. Myers, Newark, N.J.: Tickets on the N.Y. & Long Branch R.R. and Iron Steamboat Co., 1898.

*Representatives at Burlington Conference*

Left to Right—Top row: Dr. Vernon B. Hampton, President of the Staten Island Historical Society; Mr. Henry W. Pilch, representing The New Jersey Genealogical Society and Trustee of The New Jersey Historical Society; Dr. Richard P. McCormick, President of The New Jersey Historical Society; and Mr. Alexander D. Fowler, representing the Morris County Historical Society.

Middle row: Mr. Frank S. Lloyd, representing the Cape May Historical Society; Mrs. Howard B. Hancock, President of the Cumberland County Historical Society; Mrs. C. B. Curtis, Curator of the Bergen County Historical Society; Mrs. L. G. Rundstrom, representing the Atlantic County Historical Society; and Mr. C. D. Wardlaw, President of the Plainfield Historical Society.

Front row: Mrs. Anna W. Lines, President of the Basking Ridge Historical Society; Mr. D. Stanton Hammond, President of the Passaic County Historical Society; Mrs. Aline K. Wolcott, President of the Burlington County Historical Society; Mr. Joshua Hilliard, member of the Burlington County, Atlantic County and New Jersey Historical Societies; and Miss Helen A. West, President of the Hamilton Township Historical Society.